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ABSTRACT

The eight papers contained in this monograph were drawn from two national meetings on correctional training and casework. Titles and authors are: "The Challenge of Professionalism in Correctional Training" (Michael J. Gilbert); "A New Perspective in Correctional Training" (Jack Lewis); "Reasonable Expectations in Correctional Officer Training: Matching Methods to Audience" (Derral Cheatwood and David W. Hayeslip, Jr.); "Correctional Officer Stress: Is Training Missing the Target?" (Jeanne B. Stinchcomb); "The Prediction of Dangerous Behavior" (Richard A. Cartor); "Individual and Structural Causes of Authoritarianism in Correction Officers" (Robert B. Blair and Charles E. Hurst); "Developing a University Based Training Center" (Bruce I. Wolford and Fred Schloemer); and "Corrections: A Move to Privatization" (James L. Jengeleski). (KC)

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Correctional Monograph

Issues in Correctional Training and Casework

October, 1986

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This publication represents the second in a series of monographs devoted to topical issues in the field of corrections. The contributions to this monograph were drawn from papers presented at two national meetings held in October, 1985.

First Annual National Correctional Trainers Conference
Second Annual Correctional Symposium: Corrections in Transition

The themes of this monograph are correctional training and casework. Although these two areas are not generally grouped together in the literature, they have a common element. Both trainers and caseworkers in correctional settings have long felt isolated from their fellow professionals. It is hoped that the collected articles in this monograph will help both trainers and caseworkers to examine the key role they play in the correctional process.

The publication of this monograph has been a cooperative effort. I wish to thank the members of the Editorial Review Committee and the Assistant Editor, Pam Lawrenz, for their hard work and dedication to this project. The two professional meetings which provided the submissions for this publication and the monograph itself were directed at practicing corrections professionals. I want to recognize the support and the cooperation of the agencies and personnel of the following organizations which have contributed to this project:

Kentucky Department for Social Services
Federal Correctional Institution-Lexington Kentucky
Kentucky Corrections Cabinet

Finally, I must recognize the continued support and leadership of the Department of Correctional Services at Eastern Kentucky University and the American Correctional Association in this publication.

Editor

Bruce I. Wolford

CORRECTIONAL MONOGRAPH

Issues in Correctional Training and Casework

Published by
Eastern Kentucky University
Department of Correctional Services and American Correctional Association

A limited number of copies of the Correctional Monograph from the National Correctional Trainers Conference and the Correctional Symposium: Corrections in Transition are available to individuals, libraries and institutions. The publication includes articles on: prediction of dangerous behavior, privatization of corrections, stress reduction, professionalism in training, university based training and authoritarianism attitudes.

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The Challenge of Professionalism in Correctional Training

Michael J. Gilbert

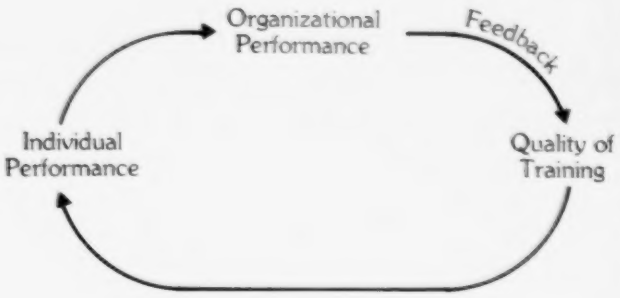
Abstract

This article explores the roots and characteristics of professionalism in correctional training. It distinguishes between the professionalism of training programs and the professionalism of the trainer by the characteristics which compose them. It argues that professionalism is only granted by others who acknowledge the professional status after being earned by sustained performance, by those in the career field.

Often in corrections the terms "Firm and Fair" are used to describe what an officer's behavior toward offenders should be. This phrase is vague and nearly meaningless for it does not identify what the desired behaviors are. It is open to as many interpretations as there are people. Each person has his or her own definition of what is "Firm and Fair" and the phrase does not help to explain how correctional officers should guide their own behavior. The role of training in the organization is to take such abstract notions as "Firm and Fair" and translate them into meaningful work behaviors which are effective on the job. The intent of staff training is to translate the abstract intent of management policy (in writing) into actual practice (policy in action).

The performance of an organization is dependent on how well or how poorly individuals function within the organization. Organizations tend to achieve higher levels of performance when the goals, values and policies of the formal organization are consistent with and overlap the goals and values of individual members Barnard, (1968); Hersey and Blanchard, (1982); Herzberg, (1978); Maslow, (1978); McGregor, (1978); Peters and Waterman, (1982). Training provides the structure through which individual performance/work behavior is systematically developed in a manner consistent with organizational goals, values and policies. Training also helps each participant to assess how well the goals and values of the organization overlap their own.

Organizational performance is rooted in individual performance, which in turn is rooted in how well individuals are trained. This relationship is depicted in the following model.



Since the quality of training provided to employees is crucial to their ability to translate organizational goals and values (as stated in policies) into policy guided work behavior, it is also crucial that the training be as effective and meaningful as possible. Which brings us to the issue of professionalism in correctional training and the challenge that it presents.

Professional occupations have been described in literature as having the following characteristics:

- Public recognition;
- The production of a valued or highly regarded social function;
- Special knowledge and skills;
- Special education or training;
- Discretion and considerable autonomy in carrying out their duties;
- Responsibility to perform to some minimum standard; and,
- Peer review to enforce the standards for acceptable professional conduct and performance.

Rudoni, Baker and Meyer, (1978)

The most fundamental point to be made from these characteristics is that professionalism is a status granted by others after it has been earned and has become generally recognized. It is not something an occupational group can demand, nor is it an occupational status which can be quickly attained by such a group simply by declaring themselves a profession.

When considering professionalism in correctional training it is helpful to look at the indicators of professional performance for both training programs and trainers. The professionalism of a training program can be assessed by looking at characteristics which have been identified as state-of-the-art practices in the development, documentation and delivery of effective training.

Characteristics of Professionalism in Training Programs

- Training Programs Should be Based on an Assessment of Actual Needs:

  Actual training needs should be identified and distinguished from management problems through JOB-TASK ANALYSIS. This detailed form of needs assessment identifies the major duties, tasks and activities as well as the minimum level of acceptable

performance in these areas. The findings become the the basis for training content as well as the evaluation strategies for distinguishing acceptable from unacceptable performance.

Since acceptable performance in entry level training programs often becomes an additional employment screen its validity may be open to challenge. A job-task analysis is required under the Uniform Guidelines on Employee Selection Procedures, 43 FR 166, August 25, 1978 to establish the validity and job relatedness of the curriculum content and any tests used to measure performance.

- Training Programs Should be Adequately Documented:

Every training hour in which subject matter content is presented and/or practiced should be documented with a detailed lesson plan. The description of the content in the lesson plan should be sufficiently detailed to enable a person unfamiliar with the material to read it and understand what it means. This level of detail usually requires a narrative outline or narrative (verbatim) lesson plan format. A simple outline is not professionally acceptable because it doesn't provide enough information to specify the exact nature of the content.

From a legal liability perspective, training which cannot specify the content delivered may as well not have been presented at all. If the content cannot be specified, as far as many courts are concerned the training did not occur. It is no longer sufficient to say that training has been provided, it must be proved. Simply attending a training program does not necessarily mean someone has been trained. The training must be documented and the agency must be prepared to show that the curriculum provided the proper training O'Leary, (1986); Sager v. City of Woodlawn Park, 543 F. Supp. 282 D. Colo. (1982). As a result of these changes, organizational vulnerability to litigation for failure to train has increased.

- Training Programs Must Have Measurable Performance Objectives for Each Lesson Plan:

Every lesson plan must have measurable performance objectives of trainee proficiency to be attained by the end of the training session. Measurable performance objectives enable the training staff to define the performance expectations sufficiently so that learning gain may be assessed. Without measurable objectives, the agency could not defensibly distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable performance of trainees. Performance objectives must be written in a specific manner so as to convey the exact performance expected of the trainee Mager, (1973, 1962/1975). Performance objectives must include:

  - A single performance verb (i.e., the terminal action expected, such as "list, describe, identify, write, explain, conduct, perform," etc.).
  - The condition under which the performance will be observed (i.e., at the end of the training session, with a specific piece of equipment, time of day, or in simulated situations).
  - The criteria or standard for acceptable completion (i.e., 100%, 70%, 9 of 15, within 60 seconds, using all six steps, etc.).

- The Performance Objectives Should be Linked to the Job Task Analysis

The performance objectives of the curriculum lesson plans should be linked to the job-task analysis. One of the most common failings of organizations is that the results of a job-task analysis are not used to restructure the performance objectives and content of training programs. This is not only unprofessional, but increases the potential for successful litigation against the agency for failure to train, since the linkage between the training content and the dimensions of the job cannot be shown.

- The Learning Domains Should be Consistent Between the Performance Objectives, Content Delivery and Evaluation Strategies:

The learning domain (i.e., cognitive, affective, psychomotor) of each performance objective should be consistent with the nature of the content, the instructional strategies and the evaluation strategies used in the lesson plan. For example, training in the use of firearms involves skills that are primarily in psychomotor domain and the most relevant test for proficiency requires that the trainee actually fire a weapon. If a training program in the use of firearms were to only list cognitive performance objectives in the lesson plan it would be doubtful that such training would be accepted as credible because it does not recognize the psychomotor nature of the skills involved.

Other variations on this kind of mismatch can be seen in lesson plans for interpersonal communications which require skills in the affective domain, yet all too often the content is designed for delivery in a cognitive manner. It can also be seen in lesson plans on the principles of institutional security (a cognitive topic area) where the content presented focuses primarily on practical simulations for area and body searches. In this case a cognitive topic is presented mainly through psychomotor instructional strategies.

While the performance objectives and the instructional strategies may be consistent with each other and the topic, they may not be consistent with the evaluation strategies used. In the firearms

example a mismatch could occur if the performance objectives and instructional strategies were both psychomotor but the evaluation strategies were predominantly cognitive (i.e., written tests rather than performance tests).

In all three examples, the trainee is being "set up" for failure by an inadequate curriculum design. These types of dysfunctional relationships occur in training programs whenever there is a mismatch in the learning domains used. It is usually due to limited knowledge among the training staff, inattention to detail in curriculum planning, or lack of professional concern. Whatever the reason, the net result is usually training which fails to train and is unfair to both the trainee and the organization.

- Lesson Plans Should Be Sufficiently Detailed To Be Used By Others Without Extensive Research and Revision:

  Each lesson plan must be sufficiently detailed to permit a trainer, other than the author of the lesson plan, to deliver the training with a minimum of additional preparation. In this sense, each lesson plan should be self explanatory (able to stand on its own). It should include all the information needed, including descriptions of practical exercises and visual aids, so that the lesson could be presented in a highly consistent manner by a number of different trainers.

- The Training Program Must Maintain Accurate Individual Training Records for Each Trainee:

  These training records need to indicate the date, title, instructor, location, length of training, and performance level (i.e., acceptable, unacceptable, 90 percent, 75 percent, incomplete, etc.) for each trainee.

- Training Programs Must Maintain Attendance Records:

  Attendance records for each training day must be maintained to indicate who participated as trainees and identify the actual instructor(s) used to deliver each module in the curriculum on that day Just as training programs must now prove that training and learning has occurred, they must now be able to prove which individuals actually attended the program and identify who taught the classes.

- Training Programs Must Maintain Records on the Qualifications of Instructors Used:

  Along with an increasing demand for accountability and quality in the training programs provided to corrections personnel, there is a need to ensure that there are sufficient records to demonstrate that the instructors are qualified to teach training modules they have been assigned.

- Training Programs Should Have Curriculum Outlines:

  The training program should maintain curriculum outlines which specify the sequence of the modules and the time allocated to each in the curriculum. It may be helpful to indicate the name of the instructor responsible for each module on the outline and provide these to each instructor. Additionally, these curriculum outlines can be displayed graphically so as to visually display the sequencing of the curriculum in relation to the time allotted to each module.

- Training Programs Must Maintain Historical Records:

  Chronological records must be maintained so that any change in the curriculum is documented with an outline and a revised lesson plan for each affected module in the training program. It should be possible to locate a lesson plan for each module identified in any training curriculum offered in the past. This enables the organization to specify the nature of the training provided during a past training program to a specific trainee. Each curriculum should be reviewed annually and updated as necessary. The historical records provide evidence of the extent to which the curriculum content reflects the current training needs and circumstances within the organization.

- Training Programs Must Use Some Form of Logical Sequencing for the Training Modules to be an Effective Learning Experience for the Trainees:

  The sequence of training modules in any curriculum provides the conceptual glue that holds the entire training experience together. The instructors used to present these modules are the vehicle by which the curriculum content is delivered; the content is not the vehicle for presenting a specific instructor - no matter how proficient he or she is. Professional training programs usually do not move training modules around within the curriculum to accomodate a trainer's scheduling needs unless the module is not dependent on the prior modules or a foundation for the next module. As a general rule, alternative instructors should be available for each training module so that the program is not dependent on any single instructor.

- Professional Training Programs Have an Overriding Concern for Effectiveness in Training:

  Effectiveness in training is defined as the degree to which trainees retain the content and apply it in actual work situations. At its root, training is concerned with improving work performance. Its focus must, therefore be on maximizing the learning of each and every trainee. The emphasis should not be on the number of training hours provided or the number of trainees "pushed" through training programs.

Adult learning theory must also be applied in all aspects of the training programs. It is the underlying structure that enables the learning of the trainees to be maximized Knowles, (1970); Knowles and Associates, (1984).

- Professional Training Programs Rigorously Evaluate Their Effectiveness and Make Changes to Improve the Learning Process for Trainees:

While most training programs use paper and pencil evaluations (i.e., tests, end-of-course evaluations, and surveys) a thorough evaluation process should involve both types of objective evaluations and subjective evaluations.

Subjective evaluations are most commonly used to provide daily feedback during the delivery of a training program and to reveal information which would probably not be obtained through an objective assessment process. Daily subjective evaluations during a training program will facilitate open, non-defensive communications between the trainer and the trainees so that problems may be resolved early and not become significant issues which block learning. The following example of a subjective evaluation process has been used by the author for several years to identify and deal with problems in training programs. It also provides insight into the quality of training experiences as seen from the trainee's perspective.

1. At the end of each day have the trainees break into small groups of 4-10 to critique the material presented that day in relation to the content, delivery, time, and other issues of interest or concern to the attendees. The actual evaluation is done in small group discussions by the participants. The trainers leave the room while this discussion goes on.

2. Once the group evaluation has been completed, a representative is selected to present the group's evaluation consensus in a meeting with the trainers.

3. During the meeting with the trainers the representative from each group relays the evaluative comments from their respective groups to the trainers. The trainers should listen intently and ask only clarifying questions. The trainer(s) should not try to defend or justify how they handled the training on that day for such defensive behavior tends to shut down honest but highly critical information which is needed to maximize the learning of the trainees.

4. After all representatives have presented the comments from their group they should be thanked for their candor and released for the day.

5. Following the meeting with the trainee representatives the trainers should discuss the information they have gained to identify those issues which need immediate attention or change and those issues which may be useful for future curriculum changes.

6. On the next training day (usually the following morning between 8:00 and 8:10 a.m.) the evaluation comments of each small group are presented to the class. Any needed changes/modifications are negotiated or acknowledged to the trainees by the trainers.

One of the strongest advantages of this subjective daily evaluation process is that it allows the ownership of critical information to be depersonalized and filtered through the small groups. As a result the comments and views expressed are likely to be as close as possible to what the trainees actually think about the curriculum. Additionally, it allows problems with the training content, delivery or time to be identified early so that adjustments may be made before the learning experience for the trainees is eroded by these issues.

Objective techniques commonly used to evaluate training programs include:

Pre-tests and post-tests to measure the learning gain due to training provided:

End-of-course written critiques on the quality of training provided;

Follow-up evaluations of actual job performance to determine if the training has been applied in actual work situations by the trainees; and,

Assessment of the long term impact of the training on the organization. Such impact assessment will require special assistance from a social research methodologist.

The common thread that each of these (subjective and objective) forms of training evaluation share is a willingness to critically examine, without defensiveness, the quality of the training they have presented. The goal is to improve the training programs and provide a more effective learning experience to the people they train. Whenever possible, training programs should be pilot tested to identify the most serious curriculum defects. Once these have been corrected, major curriculum changes stimulated by subjective evaluations should be made cautiously. It is usually wise to seek cooperation from other sources or establish a pattern of similar comments in several programs before making significant changes to the curriculum. Minor curriculum adjustments in each training program should, however, be made quickly so as to be responsive to the unique needs of specific participant groups.

Professionalism of the Trainer

The characteristics previously discussed are indicators of professionalism in training programs. The professionalism of the trainer is also an issue. Characteristics of professionalism among individuals have been identified by Bopp (1977) and Stinchcomb (1980) as involving the following factors:

- **Licensing or Certification:**
  Professionals are generally licensed or certified in some manner. This is often done through governmental licensing structures as a mandatory requirement (i.e., passing the Medical Boards or the Bar Examination) or voluntary certification through professional organizations and associations (i.e., Certification as a Psychologist, Social Worker, etc.). The American Association of Correctional Training Personnel in conjunction with the American Correctional Association currently offers a voluntary professional certification program for correctional trainers who instruct correctional personnel at least 96 hours per year.

- **Educational or Training Requirements:**
  Education or training provides the special body of knowledge needed to meet professional work demands. There has been and continues to be an increasing emphasis on training programs to develop the skills staff trainers need in corrections. The National Academy of Corrections, for example, provides numerous courses in basic, advanced and specialized training techniques.

- **Code of Conduct, Professional Standards and Peer Review:**
  Professionals develop codes of conduct and professional standards which they enforce on themselves through peer review. This often places a heavy ethical burden on the members of the profession, for they may have to choose between enforcing standards of conduct and performance and personal friendships. Professional standards are beginning to emerge for correctional trainers through the voluntary certification processes which are available to them. Along with professional certification comes the responsibility for professional decertification if minimum standards are not maintained. Without self-regulation and enforcement, the profession would rapidly degenerate to a trade skill. The more correctional trainers move toward professionalism the less flexibility they will have in tolerating incompetence in themselves or other trainers. In short, professionalism in training means that trainers must set and uphold a code of conduct and a set of professional standards monitored through a peer review process.

- **Professionals Maintain a Higher Loyalty:**
  While many organizations, managers and supervisors demand or expect loyalty from their employees and subordinates, the primary loyalty among professionals is to the profession. The loyalty professionals have to organizations or individuals is clearly secondary. The overriding concern they share is the professional quality of the work they perform. Professional loyalty in training would be toward the standards for the design, development and delivery of high quality training.

- **Willingness to Challenge Authority**
  Since professionals have a higher loyalty they are often willing to confront the organization and organizational leaders over professional standard related issues. It is not unusual, for example, for physicians to oppose actions by hospital executives over conflicts between budgets and quality health care. This willingness to challenge the organization and its leaders over professional issues is risky. It is often in opposition to the wishes of managers and supervisors who may also control assignments, promotions, sanctions and even whether employment should be continued. In corrections such professional confrontations would also be a direct challenge to the traditional "Military Model" of organization so frequently used in these agencies.

- **Professionals Have Discretion in Their Area of Expertise:**
  Professionals have the authority to make decisions within their area of expertise without extensive oversight or interference from individuals outside the profession. The lack of discretionary authority excludes professional status. Quite simply, an occupation which does not have discretionary authority for its members to apply their expertise is not a profession. Para-military organizations (such as corrections) tend to severely limit discretionary authority. Professional status of trainers would probably threaten entrenched para-military and hierarchical attitudes and may lead to structural change in these organizations Etzioni, (1975); Fairchild, (1978); Jermier and Berkes, (1979); Simon, (1976); Weber, (1971); Wilson, (1941).

- **Teamwork:**
  Professionals focus on maximizing their effectiveness by meeting the needs of their clients. This requires cooperation with others. The central focus of training is on maximizing the learning by trainees so that the content may be applied directly to the job. This cannot be done by one person alone. At bare minimum it requires the cooperative effort of the trainer, trainee and supervisor working together. In addition, it usually requires other

trainers and support personnel to design, develop and deliver effective training consistently.

- **Self-Critical and Non-Defensive Attitudes:** Professionals are willing to examine their own performance for its strengths and weaknesses in a non-defensive search for ways to improve their performance. Professional trainers, in any field, are able to separate their personal investment in programs they have designed, developed and conducted from the need to continually seek the most effective training possible to maximize the learning of the trainees. They also recognize that training needs change over time. Training programs which meet the needs and maximize the learning of today's trainees may not meet the needs or maximize the learning of the future.

Professionalism in correctional training will continue to be difficult to achieve unless and until correctional trainers take control of the field by:

- Establishing certification programs;
- Establishing standards;
- Defining quality in training for both programs and trainer performance;
- Thoroughly evaluating training programs and curricula;
- Maintaining a focus on maximizing the effectiveness of the training so that learning takes place and the content can be applied to the job;
- Maintaining professional performance and conduct in both training programs and trainers; and by,
- Marketing our professional accomplishments so that they may become recognized and valued as a worthwhile social function.

Professional status for corrections training cannot be demanded from others or achieved by a simple declaration that it is a profession. Recognition of any occupational group as a profession must be earned. In correctional training professional status may eventually be earned by providing training programs to meet the kinds of professional criteria discussed in this paper. It may also be earned by trainers who take professional pride in their work and produce training experiences which meet or exceed professional standards for training delivery. If correctional trainers commit themselves to these tasks they won't have to seek professionalism, it will find them.

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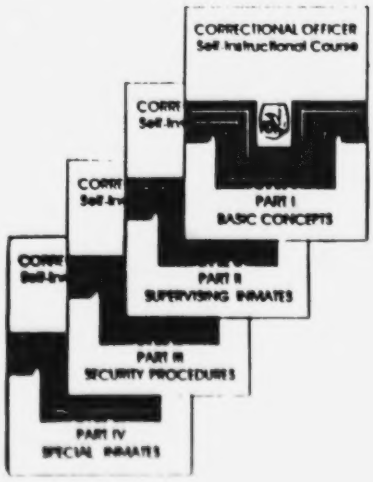

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A New Perspective in Correctional Training

Jack Lewis

Abstract

Corrections training which consists only of teaching policies and procedures followed by testing does not adequately prepare correctional staff for their jobs. The author recommends using experienced line staff as a training resource. Veteran staff can assist in informal agendas of training. These agendas include eliciting cooperation toward the accomplishment of mutual goals, addressing staff's issues and concerns and developing people management and leadership skills. Advantages of integrating a few experienced staff in training classes include: (1) break time becomes learning time through informal conversations; (2) veteran employees are recognized for their knowledge and skills; (3) new employees have a few familiar names and faces for support in the first difficult weeks of employment; and (4) experienced staff are available to serve as work group leaders. Using veteran staff as a resource can be a means of rewarding, encouraging, and developing potential staff leaders. Broadening the training perspective to include informal agendas avoids the error of believing that all training has to do is teach personnel to pass tests on procedures.

Recently, Harvard Business School Professor John P. Kotter wrote an open letter to the nation's graduates. In his letter, Professor Kotter stated that the lessons learned in the classroom can ruin a career and that many of the lessons learned are wrong for the job. Classroom programs teach the student that success comes from passing written tests, individual effort is most important and it is unnecessary to talk with classmates or instructors in order to get high grades. Classrooms also teach that a promotion is due every year. Wetlaufer, (1985)

Professor Kotter stated that work in the real world is altogether different. Instead of rewarding individual effort and emphasizing test scores, we should teach skills such as getting others to cooperate, leading or managing people, and coping within a network of people, both up and down the organizational chart. Those of us in corrections training are repeating some of the mistakes referred to by Professor Kotter. **Too much emphasis has been placed on teaching staff to pass tests and the tests usually do not indicate whether or not employees have learned to work together.**

If training programs are to be useful in the real world of the correctional institutions and not simply easy to use in the classroom, we need to examine more thoroughly the training process. This view of training focuses on using the trainees and veteran staff as resources. What better resource could we call upon to teach our personnel the processes of mutual cooperation, communication, and leadership? Corrections training can operate to teach the processes that Professor Kotter recommends. Training can enable staff groups to interact with each other instead of simply preaching about the virtues of staff cooperation.

Current Expectations of Training Programs

Much of corrections training is directed at specific and exclusive groups of employees such as: new employee training, line staff or inservice training, and supervisory personnel or management training.

Most programs place trainees into several classifications, train each group, and then move on to the next group with a new training curricula and a new test. For purposes of this article, corrections employees can be divided as follows:

(1) newly hired employees in orientation programs of varying lengths;
(2) line staff, most of whom are correctional officers; and
(3) supervisory personnel such as sergeants, lieutenants, captains, and unit directors.

Many specialized training programs are necessary but most personnel in a corrections training class could be placed in one of these three groups. The process of dividing personnel into separate groups teaches staff that working together is often discussed but seldom done.

Just what is it that training is expected to accomplish with each of these three groups? It is expected that a class of line staff will learn: (1) job responsibilities; (2) procedures for carrying out these responsibilities; (3) practical skills for performing these tasks; and (4) the expectations of individuals they supervise (inmates) and those that supervise them. These four training goals also apply to both supervisory and new employee groups.

Great efforts are expended on putting these expectations in writing. Most correctional systems have volumes of policy and procedure manuals listing in detail job responsibilities and procedures for carrying out these assigned duties. Appropriately so, policy and procedure manuals have become the basis of training for all three of these employee groups. Professionals in the training field know that there is much more to the process than presenting written policy and procedure and administering a test at the end of the session. Viewing training as merely policy and procedure orientation is like watching a movie through binoculars — a lot of the important action is missed.

Informal Agendas

Consider the informal agendas which are often taken for granted in training. Some might refer to informal training agendas as "hidden agendas." These informal agendas are not really hidden but they are difficult to put into a lesson plan or to measure with a written test. The informal agendas in training include: (1) getting staff groups to cooperate with each other toward mutual goals; (2) providing the opportunity to ask questions and raise issues and concerns and to have these concerns passed up or down the chain of command; and (3) development of people management and leadership skills. These informal training agendas are based mostly on verbal communications between the trainer and trainees and between the trainees themselves.

As an example of the informal training agenda of promoting teamwork and cooperation for the mutual benefit of all, consider the specific problem of high staff turnover. When a corrections system is under pressure resulting from court orders or recovering from a major disturbance, staff turnover is often cited as a problem. The *Dallas Texas Morning News* ran a cover story on the Texas correctional system which stated that 25 percent of their correctional officers have quit or been fired in the past year. A rush to hire 1500 guards in the last 18 months has hurt the quality of officers in state prisons. According to long time employees, the division between veteran guards and the so called "fast hired" has played into the hands of convicts. Bounds, (1985.)

How many times have you heard the complaint, "The new people do not last long enough to learn the job." or from a new employee, "The veteran officers could help me more but they are not interested"? If line staff would accept and support new employees, turnover might be reduced. It is easy to assume that a few weeks of instruction about job responsibilities and policies and procedures will prepare the new employee for the demands of corrections. What can training do to encourage veteran staff and new personnel to support each other as a team and aid in reducing turnover? New trainers could be hired or new lesson plans established but it may be more productive to consider ways in which training could promote teamwork instead of just telling new staff or line staff how important it is.

One way to develop teamwork is to select exemplary veteran staff to attend part of the basic orientation training. What might be accomplished if this is done is that: (1) time spent during breaks could become learning time; (2) the veteran employees will find themselves answering a lot of questions and "investing themselves" in the new employees; (3) veteran employees would have a chance to feel good about their knowledge and skills, which are often taken for granted in the institution; (4) new staff would have a few familiar names and faces to turn to for support when they are struggling through their first few weeks in the institution; (5) group work would be facilitated because experienced staff are available to be group leaders.

Placing experienced officers in recruit classes may have some disadvantages. One problem for the trainer may be maintaining control of the class and not allowing the experienced staff to "take over." The trainer should demonstrate the skills necessary to maintain control of the class. After all, control of people in groups is what corrections is about; i.e., the business of doing. It may even be beneficial for the class to watch how this can be accomplished.

Another informal training agenda is providing opportunity for participants to raise job-related problems and questions and have these concerns passed up the chain of command. By using this approach, it becomes easier to view the employee who raises questions and problems as an asset or resource instead of as a "problem trainee." Experienced corrections personnel know that one thing which makes corrections interesting is the never ending stream of new problems which must be solved and procedures which need to be updated. Many correctional supervisors could use an up-to-date summary of the problems being encountered and questions being asked by their line personnel.

The questions, problems, and suggestions coming from trainees may be viewed by a training instructor as interruptions in the formal agenda. The trainer may think, "What if I do not know the answer?" or "How can I get through this lesson plan if I keep getting interrupted?" Once problems and questions are raised in a training class, how are the issues then brought to the attention of those in the chain of command? The effective communication of this information may depend on whether a trainer can remember problems, questions, and suggestions raised by line staff. The next task the trainer faces is to accurately relate these problems to supervisory personnel. There can emerge a great deal of important information which may prove difficult to handle in such an informal and unstructured way. One solution might be to require written lists of questions, problems, and suggestions to be submitted at the end of each training class. The problem with this is getting the next higher level of personnel to read and use this information while it is still current. An easier way to communicate this information is to select supervisory personnel and have several of these people attend a portion of the training class with line staff. This would provide for direct and timely communication of problems between levels of staff and short circuit the "hearsay" method of depending exclusively on the trainer for verbal communication between personnel levels.

The advantages of integrating line staff and supervisory personnel into basic training classes are: (1) creation of opportunities for personnel to interact in ways that promote professional growth and development also known as support and teamwork; and (2) facilitation of up-to-date verbal communication of job related concerns between line staff and supervisory personnel. If this process is taken one step further and includes selected line staff in each supervisory training class, we could achieve the two advantages previously mentioned. This would also provide the opportunity to reward, encourage, and develop potential staff leaders by letting them participate in training

at a more advanced level, thus, giving them a chance to learn a few things from the "old pros."

The trainer's skills could be used to increased advantages. In addition to improving the effectiveness of informal training agendas by moving trainees into each other's training sessions, we may also benefit by moving the trainers out of the classroom and into institutions. Their skills could be used to assist line staff with the job of instructing inmates. Inmate orientation, explanation of institutional program opportunities and fire safety are examples of instruction which might be made more effective if training staff were asked to use their media and communication skills to assist line staff. A trainer who makes a video tape which saves line staff time in managing inmates is using his training skills to contribute to the goal of a safe and effective institution.

Summary

Training is often the only organized means of verbal communication which provides linkage between all levels of the corrections system. Corrections must include the informal agenda of training in addition to the well recognized and established perspective of centering training on written policies and procedures. All policies and procedures were developed from verbal complaints or questions before the solutions were put into a written form.

Another reason for broadening the training perspective to include the informal agendas discussed previously is to avoid the error of believing that all training has to do is teach personnel to pass tests on procedures. The complex relationships of power, leadership, and teamwork so vital to a safe institution cannot be addressed by teaching only facts and evaluating trainers by written tests.

Training must address the role of correctional administrators in encouraging development of informal teaching agendas. We have all heard the expression "knowledge is power." But, knowledge is power only if a plan exists to use that knowledge. That plan must come from an administrative level. Training must enable administrators to use their power to break any deadlocks between personnel groups who would "build their kingdom" rather than build teamwork and communication at all levels.

Many times training personnel may feel as if their administrators have forgotten them and that their efforts to make the system more effective are being ignored. I am reminded of the story of a repairman who was called to a house. He went to the house and rang the doorbell but no one answered and he left. What needed fixing was the doorbell! Trainers cannot afford to make the mistake made by the repairman because the stakes are too high in the prison business. The professional trainer-communication-team builders will do what is necessary to get through to their administration because it is their job. Going home because no one came to the door is not good enough.

Jack Lewis is a native of Bell County, Kentucky, received his BA degree from Union College and MSSW degree from the University of Louisville. He began state employment in 1965 and rose through the ranks to attain the position of Commissioner of Social Services. He resigned in 1978 and returned to public service in February, 1984, as Deputy Secretary for the Corrections Cabinet.

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Reasonable Expectations in Correctional Officer Training: Matching Methods to Audience

Derral Cheatwood
David W. Hayeslip, Jr.

ABSTRACT

Academy based training is a relatively new innovation for corrections, and in order to be most effective it must take into account the characteristics of its audience. While correctional officer training is often modeled on police officer training, correctional officers differ from police officers on three important dimensions: attitude toward career, previous educational experience, and perceptions of training. This article is a discussion of these differences and how correctional organizations, and correctional training academies in particular, might consider changes in entry level and in-service training in light of these differences and the political realities in which such training must operate.

Introduction

Despite significant differences between police officer and correctional officer populations, it is not uncommon to find state level programs for correctional officer training housed and affiliated with police officer training programs, Keve, (1981). The combination of these different training programs has been based upon convenience and a view of these occupations as similar kinds of work. In addition, training has been viewed as an element in the attempt to redefine the correctional officer as a professional, much as the police officer was re-defined from 1921 to 1968 Brannon; Kennedy; Vollmer, (1968). Seldom, however, have legislative or administrative agencies conducted a thoughtful examination of the differences between these two populations and their training needs.

Instead, correctional officer training has evolved based upon existing police training models. Unfortunately, such an approach has ignored crucial differences between the ranks of police officers and correctional officers, differences which are critical to the design of training programs.

This article attempts to point out some of these major differences, and examines how specific characteristics of correctional officers affect their responses to training. Suggestions are offered as to how training for correctional officers may be restructured in light of these differences.

Differences Between Police and Correctional Officer Populations

The first, and probably most significant difference between police officers and correctional officers is their attitude toward career. New police officers commonly see themselves choosing law enforcement from a number of occupations because of positive career attributes, Van Maanen, (1983). On the other hand, most new correctional officers view their jobs as temporary in the sense that nothing else is available and corrections will fill the gap until something better comes along, Jacobs & Retsky, (1975); Lombardo, (1981); Webb & Morris, (1978); and Jacobs and Kraft, (1978).

A second major difference is the entry-level educational backgrounds of correctional officers when compared to police officers. Only one state requires any college education for correctional officer applicants, and some states require only the ability to read and write, Snarr & Wolford, (1985). It is not surprising then that, in general, police officer educational levels are higher than correctional officer levels, LEAA, (1978).

A third difference, derived in part from the first two, is how officers view the adequacy and relevancy of entry level training. While, an "old guard" which is resistant to training still exists in law enforcement, Goldstein, (1977), police departments have increasingly become staffed by professionals dedicated to careers in law enforcement. With the influx of professionals over the past several decades has come an increasing emphasis on realistic and relevant training.

Professionalism is a much newer model in corrections, and an "old guard" decrying the softness of modern prisons, the impossibility of rehabilitation, the worthlessness of the "new" prisoner and "new" guards, and the irrelevancy of training is still quite prevalent, Irwin, (1980); Jacobs, (1977); Jacobs & Grear, (1977); Webb and Morris, (1978). **Perhaps the one phrase a new correctional officer returning from academy training hears most is, "That may be what they taught you at the academy, but here's the way we do it here."** As a result, many correctional officers see training as irrelevant to their needs or to the daily tasks at hand, and they view the structure of training and the quality of much of their training as far less than adequate, Lombardo, (1981).

Correctional officer perceptions of the inadequacy and irrelevancy of training may actually be accurate since the application of the police training model in corrections presumes career commitment, basic educational achievement and positive views of training. The task facing corrections trainers then, is to design training programs which prepare professional officers, but which do so with a realistic awareness of the characteristics of the audience being trained.

Recognizing the unique characteristics of entry level correctional officers and designing appropriate training is but one part of the task. More fundamental organizational changes are also required in order to achieve the goal of a highly motivated, committed professional correctional officer.

Suggestions For Change

Career Orientation - In order to increase new officers' perceptions of corrections as a career, a number of approaches could be effective. First, a systematic focus on rewarding superior job performance should be developed in state level correctional agencies, and entry level training should focus on the kinds of job behaviors which will lead to rewards.

Unfortunately, it is all too common for a new correctional officer to find that motivation and initiative go unrewarded while performing in accordance to the status quo and at moderate energy levels will ensure that he or she does not provoke negative evaluations. Any attempt to act independently, even if logical and within the regulations and security guidelines of an institution, may draw supervisory fire and enormous peer pressure, Bowker, (1982); Cressey, (1959); Irwin, (1980). The officer is simply better off doing nothing or doing as little as possible. You cannot expect personal initiative and career commitment where complacency is not punished and where motivation goes unrewarded.

In order to facilitate initiative and career orientation, training must first emphasize strict adherence to fundamental institutional regulations and security requirements. This emphasis is necessary in order to insure that any mistakes that may occur will be minor. Secondly, an officer who displays initiative and motivation within the context of adherence to the regulations should be given positive rewards independent of, or in addition to, promotion. For example, supervisory personnel could inform officers through formal but official correspondence that they are aware of the officers' performance and are appreciative of it. Recognition and praise of this type will clearly improve motivation and career commitment.

Furthermore, a mistake made by a good officer should not necessarily be used as an opportunity for sanctioning but should be turned into an opportunity for on-the-job training. A mistake gives a supervisor a chance to do more than show an officer what he or she did wrong, it provides the supervisor with an excellent chance to train that officer in the appropriate ways of doing the job better.

Career commitment could also be improved through early exposure to career ladder opportunities during entry level training. Career advancement should also be tied to on-going in-service training requirements. Training for advancement should be offered so that entry level personnel can recognize what is necessary to advance and how the advancement process operates.

Thus, the training academy should be as familiar to officers as their home institution. Officers who view their job as a profession and corrections as a career must have both the opportunity and the expectation of returning to training at regular intervals throughout their careers. Voluntary participation in in-service courses will not only help officers in the pursuit of career advancements but will also serve to reinforce motivation and initiative.

Preparation for Training - Given the current low entry level salaries and entrance requirements for correctional officers, it seems unlikely that personnel in the future can be recruited with educational backgrounds and preparation at the same level as police officers. This does not mean, however, that training expectations for correctional officers should be lowered.

Those that require remedial preparation for training could be assisted through cooperative arrangements with local colleges or high schools and such preparation could take place before enrollment in the academy, Cohn, (1974); Keve, (1981); National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, (1978). It is not necessary to put all applicants through such programs but rather just those who need the remediation and are motivated and willing to take advantage of such an opportunity.

More importantly, and more difficult to implement within the staff and budget limitations that exist, training programs should be based on continuous repetition. Trainers are dealing with individuals who do not find education particularly exciting, and the training program must take that into account. Research not only demonstrates the importance of repetition to learning, but also indicates the greater importance of this with certain critical tasks, Landy and Trumbo, (1980). For example, such skills as the use of deadly force, hostage response and escape procedures are critical but are rarely utilized by officers. Only through constant familiarization and practice can swift and competent use of these skills be guaranteed.

Expanded training programs are expensive and impose a burden on institutions in terms of employee time and staffing, but in order to insure that officers can rapidly and competently act in times of emergency on-going training is a necessity.

Perceptions of Training - Increasing the relevance of training will require both minor and major changes. The existence of mock facilities or mock cells (or real facilities used for training) can help a new officer in understanding the applicability of training to the actual work environment. Trainers must also constantly insure that they are teaching current and correct procedures, although this will help only if there are standardized procedures within the entire department.

If institutional autonomy exists relevant to rules and regulations then perceptions of the irrelevancy of training will be reinforced. However, if a standardized system of rules and regulations is in place then an officer will be more likely to place his or her allegiance to the system of corrections rather than to the specific institution in which the officer works, Cohen, (1979).

Officers feel they need training, particularly in the use of force and effective procedures for dealing with inmates Cohen, (1979). Adequate time must be allocated during entry level training to such topics to reinforce perceptions by officers that training is tied to the real world of the institution. If training is directly and indirectly tied to real benefits in advancement, avoidance of problems and other day-to-day concerns of an officer, training will more likely be accepted and viewed as useful and important.

The biggest hurdle to overcome in creating positive views of training is undoubtably the existence of a group of peers or supervisors with negative attitudes toward

training. There is no simple answer as to how to attack this problem, but a first step might be to bring the "old guard" back for their own training with the clear and stated purpose of getting them involved in the entire training process. By showing them the latest standard techniques, showing them precisely what new officers will learn so that they can assist new officers, and by getting their feedback in developing new training the lingering resistance may be broken down.

The Context for Changes in Training

The training of correctional officers takes place within a political context where a primary concern is the distribution of limited resources. Within this context it must be realized that there are no inexpensive ways to build adequate training facilities, and no inexpensive ways to free officers' time for participation in training programs, Keve, (1981). If a state is willing to put forth the best it has for its officers, then it will get the best in return. With high salaries, better working conditions, and extensive benefit and training programs the state will find motivated, educated and career oriented applicants, National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, (1978).

Some ways to change correctional organizations and training in particular have been considered in this article. Implementation of such changes, are costly but the alternatives to such changes are also expensive.

Officers who lack career commitment, who have inadequate educational backgrounds and view training as irrelevant are certainly more likely to leave the field of corrections than those who are committed and motivated. Indeed, turnover is extremely high in many correctional systems and such turnover is quite costly, Jacobs & Retsky, (1976).

Civil litigation, breakdowns in order and security, escapes and disturbances are also quite costly for corrections systems and bring with them serious political fallout. However, adequate and realistic training could serve to minimize these occurrences.

In addition, a well-designed training program should result in a decreased time lag from the point at which a new officer is hired and the time at which he or she reaches peak performance, and this faster adjustment period will reduce costs.

Finally, a professional staff which is working for higher pay in better conditions with good training has higher morale. A well-trained correctional officer population with high morale and an orientation toward corrections as a profession offers a significant opportunity for efficiency and savings for the entire system of corrections. Increased professionalism through improved career commitment, educational background and perceptions of training relevancy will translate into dollars and cents saved for the state, and into increased security for the people of the state. It is those areas, more than concern for the officers themselves, which may prove to be the tools with which better correctional training programs are built.

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Correctional Officer Stress: Is Training Missing The Target?

Jeanne B. Stinchcomb

Abstract

While it is generally agreed that correctional officers experience stress on the job, little is known about its causes. Traditional approaches have therefore emphasized helping employees adjust to stressful conditions, rather than altering the conditions themselves.

Findings of a study conducted in a large local correctional agency indicate that primary causes of stress can be traced to such factors as pressures and problems generated by those in the work environment, gender, feeling overworked, and lack of self-esteem, job satisfaction, and control. These findings present evidence for changing both the structure and content of stress reduction training — from lecture-style classes and self-help topics to organizational development approaches focusing on increasing discretion, flexibility, and organizational integration.

Traditional Stress Training

Stress reduction has become a popular topic in correctional training. Like private industry and other government agencies, corrections has focused such training on self-help techniques — improved diet, exercise, relaxation, meditation, and similar efforts designed to help officers cope with work-related stress. While these approaches may be helpful in controlling stress, their focus on coping strategies has been criticized as a "mechanical approach" which does not address the sources of stress, Miller & Adwell, (1984). What happens when employees complete the training program? Generally, they return to the same work conditions which induced their stress in the first place! Are we missing the target by training officers to overcome the effects of stress, when the goal should be prevention? As with disease, is it not far more humane and beneficial to prevent stress than to treat its resulting symptoms?

Instead of addressing the causes of stress, traditional stress training programs are dealing with the effects. Such practices are similar to building a hospital for treating traffic victims, rather than installing a stop sign to prevent accidents. Looking at the causes of correctional officer stress requires insight into organizational shortcomings which may be uncomfortable to face. Administratively, it is much easier to ignore the causes and send officers to self-help or counseling programs. But in treating the symptoms, we are overlooking the causes — and missing the target!

Stress Research

To propose a re-thinking of stress reduction training is one thing; to identify more specifically what directions to pursue is quite another. Much of the existing research on stress - although quite voluminous - either does not focus on corrections or uses techniques which are not precise enough to isolate specific causes in the work environment. For example, many human service occupations have been identified as vulnerable to stress, Pines & Aronson, (1981). In the field of law enforcement alone, Terry (1981) found studies reporting at least 53 stressors associated with either police work or its organization. Many of these reports show correlations between police work and physical or personal problems (e.g., heart disease, stomach disorders, divorce, etc.). Such negative effects may be linked to work conditions. It cannot be assumed arbitrarily that they are **caused** by job stress.

Within corrections, one of the earliest stress studies actually addressed the stressfulness of prison on inmates, Alvarez & Stanley, (1930). Contrary to expectations, the inmates were found to have normal blood pressure levels — it was the officers whose blood pressure was significantly higher! More recently, the rate of heart attacks for correctional personnel has been cited as one of the highest among state employees, Wynne, (1977). In the New York Department of Corrections, time off for disability leave was traced to stress-related problems involving heart attacks, alcoholism, and emotional disorders, New York State, (1975). Others have cited the stressfulness of relationships between inmates, officers, and their superiors, Jacobs & Retsky, (1974). One such study concluded that officers "feel threatened by inmates, misunderstood by superiors, and unsupported by fellow officers," Poole & Regoli, (1981). Another found role problems and danger positively and significantly related to stress, which however, was mitigated by supervisory support, Cullen *et al.*, (1985). These are also in line with Cheek and Miller's (1983) landmark finding — that the organizational administration was perceived by officers as more stress-provoking than job demands.

Many of these studies rely on personal opinions or correlations between physical effects and job factors to suggest causes of stress. Most likewise fail to answer why everyone exposed to the same work setting is not victimized by stress. It is perhaps for these reasons that there has not been much progress toward identifying actual causes of work-related stress.

Searching for Organizational Causes of Stress

In an effort to prevent stress by isolating its causes, a study was conducted in 1984, focusing on correctional officers in a local adult detention facility. The research was based on the theory that people respond differently to stressful conditions. Each of us has certain stress-reducing or stress-reinforcing elements in our personal makeup. These "intervening variables" were measured in this study

by characteristics and relationships which determine response to stress-provoking elements in the work environment. (See Figure 1, Intervening Variables). For instance, it might be expected that someone with low self-esteem would react more negatively to troublesome incidents on the job, and eventually be more likely to develop stress-related symptoms. On the other hand, those who feel that their accomplishments are recognized and rewarded might be better able to tolerate work problems, which could result in lower levels of stress.

In order to test such theories, the hypothetical "causal model" shown in Figure 1 was developed. In the model, certain factors in the work environment are identified as stress-provoking: groups influencing the officer (role-senders); the structure of correctional work; and how one perceives the work role. The individual's personal characteristics and relationships (intervening variables) are then seen as affecting how one initially responds to stressors. Ultimately, this combination of work-related stressors and intervening variables is viewed as affecting the outcome — the extent to which stress is actually demonstrated. Stress is measured in two ways: (1) physiological symptoms; based on research conducted by Seyle (1956), and Cheek & Miller, (1983); (2) a scale of physical/emotional/mental exhaustion indicators, Pines & Aronson, (1981).

One item included in the model — social readjustment — was **not** expected to have an impact on stress. This is a measure of one's readjustment following positive or negative external events occurring in the individual's personal life. For example, dealing with divorce, death, financial problems, etc. could reinforce work pressures.

In order to test the model, a survey was administered to 274 employees in a local detention facility, randomly selected from the ranks of sergeant and below, (referred to as "officers" herein).[1] A usable instrument was returned by 141, representing a response rate of 57 percent. Given the very sensitive and personal nature of the survey, this was viewed as an acceptable rate of return.[2] Comparisons between respondents and the total population indicate that the sample distribution closely approximates that of the population on sex, ethnicity, and rank.

The Debilitating Outcome

It is doubtful that officers are fully aware of the extent to which their job is creating stress. For example, on a five-point scale (ranging from 1 being low to 5 being high), officers' self-reports indicated an average stress level of only 3.00.[3] This is very similar to results obtained by Cheek and Miller (1983).

However, in terms of physical health problems experienced in the past six months, participants reported substantial rates of high blood pressure (26 percent), severe migraine headaches (19 percent), ulcers (11 percent), and cancer (1 percent). In addition, over one-third have been affected in the past six months by irritability (45 percent), frequent colds (37 percent), excessive eating or loss of appetite (36 percent), difficulty going to sleep or staying asleep (36 percent), and being fidgety or tense (35 percent). Many (32 percent) revealed that they are currently under prescribed medication or doctor's care, with most being treated for high blood pressure, followed by ulcers or stomach problems, injuries, and diabetes.

The level of stress reported on the combined measure of physical/emotional/mental indicators was somewhat lower. The most frequently reported items in that index were feeling anxious, being tired, and lack of optimism. Correlations show that those who are more alienated and have lower self-esteem score higher on this indicator of stress.

Finding that sizeable percentages of correctional officers are experiencing stress, (despite self-perceptions to the contrary), is useful information. Yet the majority of these employees are not apparently plagued by debilitating levels of stress. This helps to put the issue of correctional officer stress into proper perspective. It does not mean that the causes can be overlooked merely because stress does not affect a majority of employees. Only by isolating causes can intervention strategies be employed to create conditions designed to prevent the minority from becoming the majority.

Causal Findings

In order to determine causes of stress, two separate models were tested. Using the outcome measures described above and the variables presented in Figure 1, direct and indirect effects were measured through path analysis and multiple regression. The model based on physiological indicators predicted 46 percent of the variance in stress scores; the physical/emotional/mental index resulted in a prediction of 18 percent. Almost all predictors reflected work-related conditions. None of the external items were predictive of stress; in fact, the "life events" scores of officers in this study were extremely low compared to other groups. It is therefore not likely that their stress was created (or escalated) by external factors outside of work.

Combining direct and indirect effects of stress, the strongest predictors in the physiological model were: (1) pressures from and problems with those in the work environment, (primarily, other officers and administrators); (2) gender, (with females more stress-prone than males); and (3) lack of recognition. In the second model, the

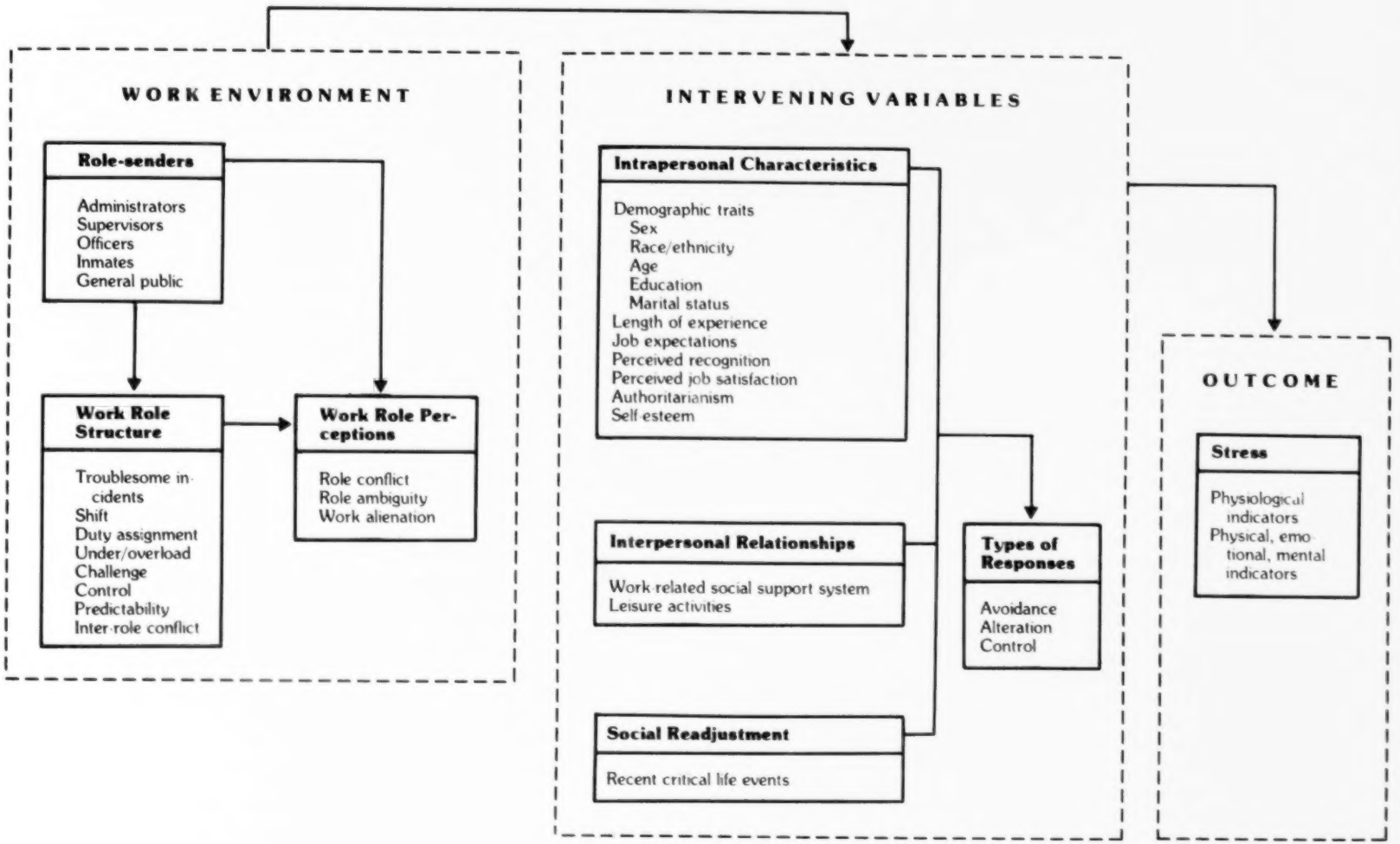
[1]The actual distribution of respondents was as follows: Officers, 76 percent; Corporals, 16 percent, Sergeants, 8 percent. Results reported are based on this sample and are not necessarily intended for generalization to a larger population. Agencies wishing to pursue the training approaches suggested herein are encouraged to determine the causes of stress specific to their own organization.

[2]Generally, the results of survey research are viewed as meaningful if the response rate is 50 percent or above. Warwick & Lininger, (1975); and Hy, Feig, & Regoli, (1983).

[3]Because of the very subjective nature of self-reported stress levels, (and because it is a unidimensional measure), this variable was not included in the model for causal analysis.

Figure 1

Hypothesized Casual Model



strongest predictors were: (1) those in the work environment; (2) lack of self-esteem; (3) low job satisfaction; (4) feeling overworked; and (5) lack of control, (which also occurs in the physiological model, although it was not as strong a predictor in that case).

This is an extremely abbreviated interpretation of the complex statistics resulting from these tests. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of gender, (and, to some extent, self-esteem), virtually all of these predictors of stress are subject to organizational control— and what can be controlled can also be changed!

Training Implications

What is your agency doing in response to correctional officer stress? Are you treating symptoms or addressing causes — building hospitals or installing stop signs? The self-help approaches popular today are not without benefit. The question is: what do they achieve? They enable the employee to better adjust to stressful conditions, rather than altering the conditions themselves. Traditional programs may be helpful in treating the symptoms, but not the spread of the disease! **Agencies relying exclusively on treatment — rather than prevention — are missing the target in stress reduction training.**

If the target is to be prevention, training for officers must be redirected from coping strategies to relieving organizational stress inducements. In terms of prevention, results of this study indicate that training could more effectively reduce stress if it focused on interpersonal relations within the organizational structure. "Other officers" ranked surprisingly high as a source of the job pressures predictive of stress in both models. Officers actually outranked inmates when participants were asked with whom major, continuing problems are experienced. Issues cited included laziness, incompetence, unprofessional conduct, and lack of cooperation. Employees should be made aware that when they exhibit such behaviors, it is creating stress for those with whom they work. Since feeling overworked is another substantial cause of stress, supervisors must also be held accountable for assuring that everyone is carrying a fair share of the workload.

In fact, it is apparent that there are stress reduction training implications for all organizational ranks — officers, supervisors, and administrators. In this study, 28 percent of the respondents considered themselves overqualified for their job. Over half felt they are either not recognized or are given attention only "when something goes wrong." Lack of control over the job was a stress predictor in both models. Such findings point to the need for establishing a climate of high expectations and positive reinforcement. Encouragement should be provided continually — rather than relying solely on a structured "reward" system of payment or promotion. Good job performance should be rewarded with increasing levels of control, flexibility, and discretion. Quality circles, team-building, or other decentralized problem-solving and decision-making approaches could also be employed to enhance communication, positive interaction, and mutual support among those on a shift. Likewise, supervisors should be encouraged by their superiors to take action when behavioral problems are observed, since such action will only occur if supervisors feel confident of administrative support. It is therefore incumbent upon administrators to clearly articulate and enforce the organization's position in terms of dealing with behavioral problems on the job.

Admittedly, many of these issues relate to organizational management rather than training, and trainers must be cautious to avoid promising more than they can deliver. Training alone cannot solve motivational or organizational problems. These issues must be addressed before hiring, through the selection process, during the probationary period and on a continual basis through proper supervision. Training can, however, be used as a vehicle for generating greater organizational insight in a problem-solving format. While training may not be able to address the issue of stress causation directly, it can sensitize personnel at all ranks to the causes of stress for which they bear some responsibility. In many cases, this may require such non-traditional approaches as brainstorming, small group sessions, role-playing, or other less structured techniques. Although training cannot be expected to present solutions for work-related causes of stress, it can provide a neutral environment where potential solutions can be explored. Addressing causes instead of symptoms calls for less emphasis on lectures and self-help approaches, in favor of more open-ended, organizational problem-solving sessions — where the causes of stress are analyzed and preventive remedies developed.

We're All in This Together

The recommendations outlined above are but a few suggestions for redirecting stress training. The ultimate solutions are limited only by organizational creativity and concern. The common theme in this approach to stress prevention is the integration of all ranks into the agency's problem-solving and decision-making network — a theme which is also reflected in the stress research of Miller and Adwell (1984). In their study, it was discovered that officers with higher levels of stress were also those who lacked decisiveness about their purpose in life. Officers who do not consider themselves to be an integral part of the correctional organization might well be expected to have less clearly defined purpose in their work-related life, which it appears is related to stress.

It is not unique to propose that personnel will be more committed to achieving goals which they are involved in shaping. This is a long-standing principle of participatory management theories, which have been popular for promoting organizational productivity. It appears from this study that such efforts at integration of all ranks into the organization may have an equal, and possibly even greater, benefit in terms of stress reduction. That is a logical conclusion, since those suffering from the debilitating effects of stress cannot be expected to be working at maximum capacity.

Employees represent the most critical and the most costly resource of any organization. When they are victims

of job stress, the individual suffers personally; the organization suffers fiscally. Preventing stress rather than treating its symptoms is therefore in everyone's best interest — to do otherwise is simply missing the target!

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AUTHORS NOTE: This article is designed to outline the training implications of a stress study. Since it was not prepared as a research report, the methodology and findings are described in extremely abbreviated format. Those desiring additional statistical information are encouraged to contact the author for a technical summary of the study.

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The Prediction of Dangerous Behavior

Richard A. Cartor

Abstract

The American criminal justice system asks mental health professionals to make predictions about the dangerousness of individuals, yet these professionals admit that they cannot predict dangerous behavior. This article reviews the literature relevant to the prediction of dangerous behavior and discusses some of the ethical issues involved in such predictions. Court cases dealing with the definition, determination, and prediction of dangerous behavior are addressed, as is the issue of how and why the legal system requires mental health professionals to perform a function that they feel they are not qualified to perform. The results of a questionnaire, used to assess the attitudes of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, and attorneys regarding the capabilities and limitations of psychiatry and psychology are analyzed and discussed. Directions for future research, as well as possible rapprochements between the fields of criminal justice and the mental health professions are suggested.

The goal of science has historically been to predict and explain phenomena in the environment. The behavioral sciences face the complex task of predicting and explaining human behavior. This article will focus on the prediction of dangerous behavior and the implications of such prediction for the American criminal justice system.

Recent events, such as the assassination attempt of Ronald Reagan by long-term psychiatric patient John Hinckley, have brought attention and controversy to the problems involved in the prediction of dangerous behavior. The fact that legal action was taken against Hinckley's psychiatrist for his alleged failure to accurately diagnose Hinckley's condition as dangerous, and for not attempting to have him detained in order to avert the assassination attempt has focused the attention of Congress and the media on the legal-mental health interface and on relevant judicial decisions.

In Hernandez v. The State of California (90 Cal. Rptr., 205), and in Orman v. The State of New York (332 N.Y.S. 2nd, 914), the state and its employees were cleared of liability for crimes committed by ex-mental patients and mental patients on leave from psychiatric hospitals. In a decision relevant to the Hinckley case, the California State Supreme Court ruled in Tarasoff v. The Regents of the University of California (sup. 131, Cal Rptr. 14 (1976) that **"psychologists and psychiatrists may be liable for civil damages if they fail to inform the prospective victim of a patient that they have predicted, or should have predicted, to be violent."** While in the Tarasoff case the violent behavior was known to be directed at a specific individual, the Hinckley case refers only to his potential for dangerousness. In Lessard v. Schmidt (349 F. Supp., 1078), such potential dangerousness can be used as the sole critereon for involuntary confinement.

The criminal justice system considers psychiatrists and psychologists (i.e., mental health professionals), to be the ultimate authorities in prediction of behavior, and depend heavily on the expertise of these clinicians. Steadman (1972) traced the history of how psychiatry has gained such a powerful position within the criminal justice system. Just how powerful the mental health professionals are is illustrated by Cocozza and Steadman's (1978) finding that approximately 90 percent of psychiatrists' recommendations to detain accused criminals on the grounds of potential dangerousness are upheld by the courts. In these cases mental health professionals are wielding the power to detain unconvicted persons. This circumvention of the standard due process of the law is based strictly on the likelihood of future dangerous behavior. Scheff (1964) pointed out that these predictions are influenced by societal demands that clinicians make the safe error in prediction. The safe error is an over-prediction of dangerousness, and subsequently an over-commitment of persons who might not actually be dangerous. Scheff (1966) stated that there exists a general public tendency to encourage the detention of non-dangerous persons so as to avoid the possibility of releasing dangerous persons. According to Peszke (1975) the responsibility of determining the potential dangerousness and the subsequent incarceration of dangerous persons changes the role of the clinician from a helper of the individual to a guardian or policeman for the safety and welfare of society. Steadman (1972) warns that this role can become a form of social control, and Monahan (1981) urges that mental health professionals return the burden of decision-making back to the criminal justice system.

The fact that mental health professionals hold a powerful position in the criminal justice system is undisputed. The somewhat startling fact is the existence of a multitude of admissions by clinicians that the title of "experts in prediction" is undeserved and unwanted, Rubin, (1972); Levinson and York, (1974); Wenk, Robison, and Smith, (1972); Steadman, (1972); Cocozza and Steadman, (1978); Scheff, (1964, 1966). Monahan (1981) stated that "one would have to be completely out-of-touch with recent developments in criminal and mental health law not to notice that the prediction of violent behavior by mental health professionals has been under sustained attack." The American Psychiatric Association (1974), the American Psychological Association (1978), and the American Civil Liberties Union (1978), have all reiterated the point that it is

difficult, if not impossible to accurately predict whether or not a person will engage in a dangerous behavior.

Clinicians required to predict dangerous behavior in clients criticize the requirement for many reasons. Objections have been made that:

> The courts provide vague definitions of dangerousness, Cocozza and Steadman, (1978).
>
> That vague criteria exist for determining dangerousness, Levinson and York, (1974).
>
> That dangerousness is not detectable through routine psychiatric examinations, Boucher, Kozol, and Garafalo, (1972).
>
> That complex multivariate analyses of many relevant factors fail to yield any consistently accurate conclusions regarding the prediction of dangerousness, Wenk, Robison, and Smith, (1972).
>
> That no psychological test adequately correlates with dangerous behavior, Megargee, (1970).
>
> That as predictors of behavior, psychiatrists fare no better than chance, Rappeport, (1967); Giovannoni and Gurel, (1961).

Various post-tests assessing the accuracy of the predictions of dangerousness, based on recidivists, have generally found that out of three persons labeled as dangerous, one will later be caught engaging in a dangerous behavior, Kozol, Boucher, and Garafalo, (1972); Steadman and Cozza, (1974); Steadman, (1977). Although the low accuracy ratings are based on arrests and may not account for those persons who engage in dangerous or violent behaviors but are not arrested, the finding still lends support to Meehl and Rosen's (1955) assertion that it is nearly impossible to predict the occurrence of a rare event.

Despite court attempts to clarify and specify the conditions to be considered in determining dangerousness, e.g., Rosenfield v. Overholser (262, F 2nd, 34,1958) decided that the person must be "dangerous to himself or the community in the reasonably foreseeable future"; Millard v. Harris (406, F2nd, 964, 1968) ruled that the magnitude and likelihood of dangerousness must be specified, it has been shown that often times demographic variables play a more important role in the prediction of dangerousness than do psychiatric factors. Cocozza and Steadman (1978) demonstrated that with individuals accused of a crime, the determination of dangerousness most closely correlated with the gravity of the crime to which the individual had been accused. Levinson and York, (1974) point out that mental health professionals not only routinely over predict dangerousness, but the young, the unmarried, males, and persons with previous psychotic episodes are the most likely to be labeled dangerous. Similarly, Rubin (1972) found that poor, blacks, mentally incompetent, and drifters are significantly more likely to be labeled as potentially dangerous. In a study performed at a hospital for the criminally insane, Pfohl (1977) concluded that the patients' history of violence and the patients' aggressive delusions were the main criteria used in determining whether or not a patient would be considered potentially dangerous.

While considerable evidence exists that the determination of dangerousness is skewed towards certain categories or classes of individuals, Meehl (1954) pointed out that actuarial prediction (i.e., predictions based on demographic information), may, in fact, yield more accurate predictions than clinical expertise. Wolfgang (1977), in a longitudinal study of recidivists in Philadelphia, offers compelling evidence regarding the probability that an individual will engage in criminal behavior in the future dramatically increases with each arrest. In addition to previous criminal activity, other actuarial correlates that may relate to the individuals potential for dangerousness are that persons age, Zimring, (1978), sex, Webster, (1978), employment stability, Cook, (1975), and race, Silberman, (1978). Since correlation and not causation has been demonstrated, actuarial predictions can often times result in inaccurate predictions and a high number of "false positives." It is for this reason Hoffman (1974) proposed that if a clinician must attempt to predict behavior, the most desirable strategy may be to combine actuarial prediction with clinical evaluations.

Most of the literature on the prediction of dangerousness has been based on persons who have violently or aggressively transgressed the law in one form or another. The problems involved in the complex area of predicting dangerousness are magnified when one is asked to predict the dangerous potential of an individual prior to any public acts of dangerous behavior. According to Kozol, Boucher, and Garafalo (1972), such decisions, which would result in preventive detention, "require the highest degree of psychiatric expertise, and may well exceed the present limitations of our knowledge."

In 1964, Judge Warren E. Burger wrote that "psychology is an infant among the family of science," and that psychologists and psychiatrists "may be claiming too much in relation to what they know and understand about the human personality and human behavior." Such a powerful denunciation of psychology and psychiatry does not seem to accurately reflect the state of the relationship between the mental health professions and the legal system, and does not accurately reflect the spirit and attitude of the professional literature. Despite numerous admissions from mental health professionals that the label of "expert predictors of behavior" is undeserved, their powerful position within the American criminal justice system remains undiminished, and in light of recent events demands on clinicians appear to be increasing. Clinicians are now asked to define, predict, and take actions to prevent dangerous behavior.

Ennis and Litwack (1974), in contrast to Burger's statement, concluded that, "Unfortunately, judges and legislators are not aware of the enormous and relatively consistent body of professional literature questioning the reliability and validity of psychiatric evaluations and predictions." **A monumental gulf seems to exist between: (1) the demands placed on mental**

health professionals by the criminal justice system, and (2) what these professionals claim as the limits to their expertise.

Findings

In 1983, the author undertook a pilot study to assess the attitudes of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists and attorneys regarding the capabilities and limitations of the mental health professions. It was hypothesized that the attorneys, as representatives of the criminal justice system, might display a higher "faith" in the predictive abilities of the mental health professionals. A questionnaire was used to assess the groups' attitudes towards the prediction of dangerousness. The questionnaire was mailed to 150 professionals, equally representing the fields of psychiatry, clinical psychology, and law. The fifty representatives of each field were randomly chosen from telephone books in the five largest metropolitan areas of the state of Tennessee. Each subject was mailed one copy of the survey, and requested to answer all seven questions on the survey. Respondents returned the survey in an accompanying stamped self-addressed envelope.

The results of the survey neither supported nor refuted the hypothesis that the three professions hold different views regarding the mental health professionals' abilities to predict dangerous behavior. While the very low response rate (33%, N = 49) prohibited any definitive statistical conclusions, some trends that emerged are interesting, and may warrant future attention. For instance, while attorneys were split on the issues, psychiatrists and psychologists showed a strong tendency towards the belief that state and federal laws do not provide adequate legal definitions of dangerousness, and that adequate tests and procedures do not exist for determining dangerousness. When judging the importance of factors to be used in predicting dangerous behavior attorneys emphasized the importance of physiological/neurological tests, clinicians emphasized psychological tests, and psychiatrists emphasized the patients relationship with his/her psychiatrist.

In contrast to these differences, some common beliefs and attitudes did emerge among the professions. The three groups shared the belief in the importance of "previous history" variables in predicting future dangerous behavior. Factors such as previous felony arrests, aggressive acts, psychotic episodes, drug use, alcohol use, mental hospitalizations, therapy, and suicide attempts were rated as important predictors of dangerous behavior.

In contrast to the research and some current applications, all three groups tended to discount the importance of demographic variables such as race, sex, age, income, marital status, religion, and political affiliation. These data, in conjunction with the "previous history" variables, seem potentially useful in predicting dangerousness. Airlines have long used such data in discriminant analyses to pinpoint likely hijackers. Life-history and biographical data have been demonstrated to be effective in predicting other behavioral patterns, Neiner and Owens, (1985). Perhaps an extension to predicting dangerous behavior is possible. The drawbacks to such an approach have been observed by this author in developing a training program for security guards at Oak Ridge National Laboratory. It seems that the bulk of the literature aimed at determining the psychological profile of the prototypical arsonist, terrorist or vandal, laments the fact that data is acquired only from those individuals who are caught, tried, and convicted. Such a situation gives rise to serious questions regarding the accuracy of the data, the representativeness of the sample, and the degree of certainty regarding the conclusions.

While the data from the 1983 pilot study were inconclusive, they were also illuminating in several ways. First, the hypothesis that various professions have differing attitudes towards the prediction of dangerousness seems at least partially justified, and is worthy of future study. A discriminant analysis was performed to determine if respondents could be classified into their correct professions based on their responses to the items on the questionnaire. Although a heavy dose of caution is warranted due to the small sample size, the fact that 70 percent to 90 percent of the respondents (depending on the procedures used) were correctly classified, suggests that certain consistent inter-professional attitude and belief differences were emerging.

Based upon the data analysis from this small-scale study there appears to be a need for a larger study, with a more sophisticated national survey in order to draw definitive statistical conclusions. An ambitious undertaking might also include the assessment of the attitudes of judges and legislators, since it is their attitudes which shape and can change public policy.

Finally, there exists a need for greater communication among all the professionals involved. Progress can be made only through a rapprochement of all the behavioral sciences (including mental health professionals, psychometricians and statisticians) with the criminal justice experts (such as the judiciary, attorneys, law enforcement officials, probation, parole, and corrections professionals). Clearly, the task of predicting behavior is a difficult one, but through increased co-operation and communication it appears that progress towards a better, fairer, more accurate system of estimating the probabilities of dangerous behavior is attainable. The roles and demands placed on each profession can more accurately match their degree of expertise.

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Individual and Structural Causes of Authoritarianism in Correction Officers

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Charles E. Hurst

Abstract

This study results from a longitudinal investigation of correction officers and contains comparative data from a random sample of state correction officers interviewed in 1976 and again in 1983. One objective was to determine changes in authoritarian attitudes over a period of time. Another objective was to determine the relative importance of structural and personal determinants of authoritarian attitudes. Multiple regression analyses revealed that characteristics officers bring to their roles are better predictors of authoritarianism than structural features of prisons. While authoritarianism does increase over time, as hypothesized, individual characteristics, especially anomie and education, remain salient as predictors of attitudes. The study suggests policy/training implications based upon the findings. Especially important are the potential significance of education and professionalism for reducing authoritarian attitudes.

INTRODUCTION

The correction officer is a central character in the play acted out everyday in hundreds of correctional facilities around the country. Yet we know very little about these characters, what kinds of people they are, what their working lives are really like, and how they adapt to their positions. There is plenty of information about role stress, alienation, powerlessness, and similar attitudinal phenomena among many other kinds of employees in organizations, but precious little information is available regarding correctional officers.

Several authors have already lamented the lack of substantial knowledge about correctional officers, and while some studies have been done on the latter, they often suffer from omissions or other inadequacies. Some focus on only one institution Carroll, (1974); some employ anecdotal evidence in an attempt to get a grasp of the correctional officer's life Fogel, (1975); and some rely on experimental design in artificially created "prisons" to find answers to important questions about correctional officers Zimbardo, (1972). Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of previous work on correctional officers is that it invariably employs cross-sectional designs. This approach is often used in an attempt to understand phenomena that of necessity demand longitudinal data. This study has the advantage of using a longitudinal design in which changes in attitudes related to the guarding role are examined over time (1976-1983) in the same sample from six state correctional institutions.

This research has three basic goals: (1) to see if changes in measured authoritarianism occur among officers the longer they work in their jobs; (2) to ascertain the relative importance of individual characteristics of correction officers and the structural characteristics of prisons for predicting intertemporal variation in authoritarian scale values at two points in time; and (3) to determine if factors which theoretically should be related to these attitudes continue to reflect in 1983 the same pattern as in 1976.

DETERMINANTS OF AUTHORITARIAN ATTITUDES

Individuals with authoritarian attitudes believe that behavior should be closely guided by formal and recognized authority, that order and predictability are critical to maintain society, and that deviants must be punished for their breaches of order Kassebaum, et al., (1964). Two divergent perspectives of authoritarian attitudes in correction officers appear to have developed. One explains authoritarianism as a function of the personal characteristics officers bring to their positions; the other explains authoritarian attitudes as a natural reflex to structural features of the prison experience, including the way the role of guarding is organized in "total institutions."

Those who take the first position argue, essentially, that individual characteristics, i.e., either fundamental personality traits of background factors, determine variations in authoritarian attitudes among correctional officers Liddy, (1977); Abbott, (1982); Mitford, (1977); Holland, et al., (1976); Chaneles, (1973). Individual factors that are expected to be correlated with authoritarian attitudes include: (1) the subjective experience of confusion or no sense of direction (anomie) that characterizes work lacking in goal clarity Duffee, (1974); Poole and Regoli, (1980); Hepburn and Albonetti, (1980); (2) professionalism Regoli, et al., (1981); Poole and Regoli, (1983); (3) education Locke and Walker, (1967); Kassebaum, et al., (1964); (4) number of years of experience Crouch and Marquart, (1980); Hogan, (1971); Toch and Klofas, (1982); and (5) race and residential location Moore, (1973); Chaneles, (1973); Jacobs and Grear, (1977); Toch and Klofas, (1982). **In sum, these studies suggest that anomie, lower education and professionalism, and rural background will all be linked to greater authoritarianism among correction officers.**

Despite available evidence supporting the importance of individual characteristics of officers for predicting attitudes, however, the prevailing explanation is that attitudes are a function of structural factors associated with large, impersonal institutions Zimbardo, (1972) Goffman, (1961). Crowding, type of prison, institutional stress, and

inmate aggression are characteristics of many prison structures. Crowding contributes to increased stress and to unpredictable behavior among inmates; one outcome of these conditions is increased aggressiveness and "hard-nosed" vigilance among officers Jacobs and Retsky, (1975); Kassebaum, et al., (1964). Others report the opposite and find that as the ratio of inmates to officers increases, officers tend to selectively enforce certain rules in order to gain the compliance of inmates Poole and Regoli, (1980).

Also of major concern to prison administrators is the problem of sick leave abuse among correction officers. Officers frequently interpret sick leave as a "benefit" won through union negotiation, and tend to use sick leave as earned time away from work. It might be expected that the stress and tension associated with their duties, as measured by absenteeism and inmate aggressiveness, would lead correctional officers to be more authoritarian in their relationships with inmates.

Based on the literature and arguments reviewed, three sets of hypotheses are explored in this article.

(1) Between 1976 and 1983, it was expected that authoritarianism increased, along with increases in anomies, crowding, absenteeism, and inmate assaults. At the same time, professionalism has decreased.

(2) There was a positive relationship between authoritarianism, and anomie, crowding, absenteeism, security level of institution, and rate of inmate assaults. Conversely, there was a negative relationship between authoritarianism and professionalism, education, length of service, and size of hometown.

(3) Structural factors account for more of the variation in authoritarianism than do individual characteristics of officers, and individual factors that appear to be important in 1976 were less so in 1983 for the same officers.

METHODS

The data for the study were derived from responses of 63 officers employed in six prisons in a Northeastern state. The officers were selected initially by random sampling techniques and were interviewed in 1976 and again in 1983. The original sample included 83 line custodial staff members. Between 1976 and 1983 there was a loss of twenty officers. The non-responders in the sample were evenly distributed among the six institutions. Nevertheless, the attrition factors may have created a non-response bias; if the non-responders were less predisposed toward authoritarian orientations than those who remained, then the increases experienced in the scale values could have occurred as an artifact of the non-response bias. To test for this bias, t-values on relevant variables for the 1976 measures were compared. There were no significant differences between scores for the non-respondent group and those of the other 63 officers in the 1976 sample.

The measures for the variables used in this study were derived from interview data; officers received the same battery of questions for each of the two interviews. The authoritarianism measure tests for two dimensions: (1) "authoritarian submission," or the tendency for an individual to adopt a compliant attitude toward moral authorities; and (2) "power and toughness," or the tendency to become preoccupied with considerations of strength, domination and superiority Robinson and Shaver, (1973).

Anomie, the sense of frustration and confusion, was measured by the Srole (1956) anomie scale. The scale contains five items, each measuring a different aspect of anomie. Two sets of questions were used to derive an index measure of professionalism. The first requested information pertaining to training experiences, sources of training, and the number of journals which officers receive and the extent to which they were read. The second requested information on reference groups for officers, the usefulness of their roles to the larger society, and whether they viewed guarding as a career or as a temporary position until something better comes along.

Education was measured by a closed-ended question requesting officers to check ordinal categories that ranged from less than eighth grade through a postgraduate degree. Length of service was ascertained by asking officers to indicate in months and years their employment in corrections. Size of hometown was determined by having officers select one of six categories that ranged from open country to large metropolitan areas with 250,000 population.

One of the four structural variables, crowding, was measured for each prison by dividing the actual number of inmates for a given year by the number of inmates for which the prison was constructed, then multiplying this quotient by 100. Absenteeism was measured by simply computing the ratio of the reported hours of absenteeism for officers in each institution by the number of officers employed by that institution for a given year. The security classification for each institution was determined by the administrative staff of the Bureau of Correction for Pennsylvania; officials ranked each of the six institutions with respect to levels of security. Minimum, medium, and maximum security prisons were represented in the ranking. The institution ranked sixth was considered highest in security; the facility ranked as one was considered the lowest in security. The indicator for inmate assaults was the number of reported inmate assaults against staff members and other inmates for each institution in a given year.

FINDINGS

Table 1 contains the means and significance of t-values for each of the variables included in the first set of hypotheses. As predicted, crowding, absenteeism, and inmate assault rates all increased significantly. The inmate population increased by approximately forty-seven percent over the seven year period, as indicated in the capacity ratios (crowding) of 83.58 in 1976 and 122.69 in 1983. Increases also occurred in absenteeism rates (from 125 to 148 hours) and inmate assaults (from 310 to 458). Authoritarianism and anomie scores also increased

Table 1.
Values of the Mean and T-test for Determining Significant Differences between Selected Variables, 1976 and 1983 (N = 63).

Variable	1976 Mean	1983 Mean	T-Value
AUTHORITY	15.55	17.38	2.36[b]
ANOMIE	1.43	1.79	2.08[b]
PROFESSIONAL	6.40	6.09	.77
EDUCATION	4.44	4.48	.14
LENGTH	7.59	14.59	—
SIZETOWN	3.24	3.40	—
CROWDING	83.58	122.69	4.68[a]
ABSENTEE	124.94	148.65	1.49
ASSAULTS	310.44	458.10	34.57[a]

a = $p < .01$ b = $p < .05$

significantly over time. While professional orientations of officers, as measured by the items making up the index, declined in the predicted direction, the differences in the mean values for professionalism between 1976 and 1983 were not statistically significant. In summary, all the changes that were predicted to occur in structural and attitudinal characteristics did so in the expected direction.

Correlations were run between all the variables in the analysis for 1976 and 1983. As predicted, higher levels of anomie are significantly associated with higher levels of authoritarianism in 1976 (r=.40), while, conversely, higher levels of education and professionalism are associated with lower authoritarianism scores (r=.45 and -.25, respectively). Finally, at this first level of analysis, length of service is positively related to authoritarianism (r=.31), refuting suggestions of several earlier studies.

As in 1976, anomie, professionalism and educational level are related to authoritarianism in the same manner as discussed above, but length of service is no longer significantly correlated with authoritarianism in 1983 among these individuals. Surprisingly, structural factors are not related to authoritarianism in either 1976 or 1983.

It had been expected that structural factors would explain more of the variation in authoritarianism scores than individual characteristics. Table 2 indicates that anomie, educational level, and residence of correction officers are related to authoritarianism as predicted even when all other variables are controlled. However, in the case of size of residence, this is true only for 1976 and not 1983. Length of service and professionalism, which were significant in the first basis analysis, were not significant when the effects of other factors are controlled. This may be due to the fact that both are related to another factor. Specifically, in both years greater length of service is correlated with lower education and higher professionalism is related to lower anomie feelings.

In contrast to earlier correlations, where none of the structural factors were significant, Table 2 shows that in a multivariate analysis absenteeism is related to authoritarianism in the predicted direction. Greater absenteeism rates are related to higher levels of authoritarianism. As in the earlier basis analysis, none of the other structural factors are shown to have a significant effect on authoritarianism. **The effectiveness of the variables in our model as an explanation of authoritarianism declines between 1976 and 1983, suggesting that the impact of these variables as a group on authoritarianism decline the longer officers are in their positions.** In 1976, our predictors accounted for forty-eight percent of the variation in authoritarianism, whereas in 1983, that percentage dropped to twenty-five percent. The final test was for the extent to which the individual characteristics of officers were superceded by the structural determinants over the seven year period, explaining forty-two and twenty-four percent of the variance in the authoritarian scale values for the two measurements.

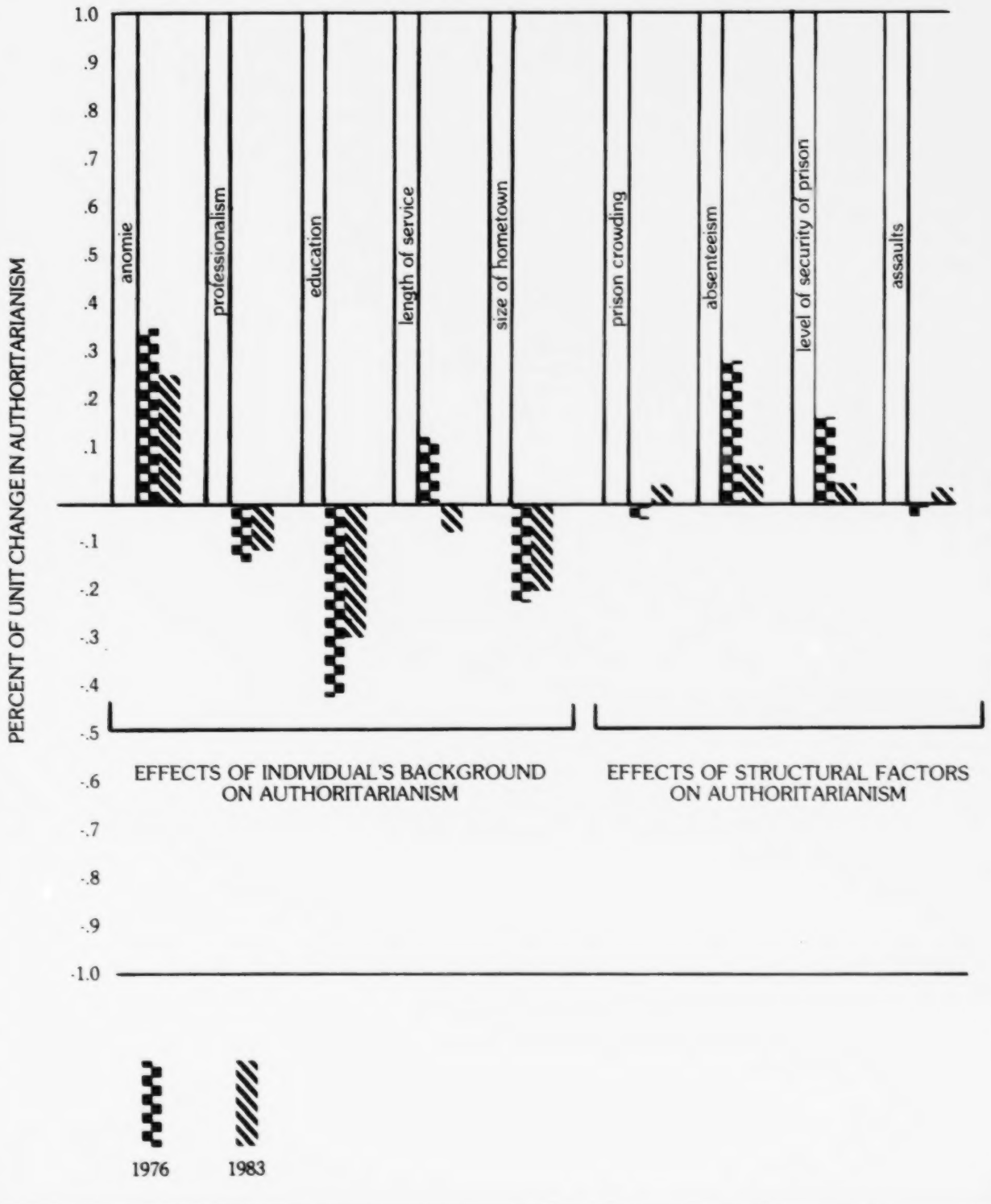
DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The findings suggest several conclusions: (1) generally, individual characteristics are more important in explaining authoritarianism among officers than are structural characteristics; (2) while both authoritarianism and anomie have increased between 1976 and 1983, the impact of variables in the equation have also changed; and (3) the explanatory power of the variables as a group declined between 1976 and 1983.

The analysis most strongly supports those earlier studies Kassebaum, Ward, Wilner, (1974); Poole and Regoli, (1980) which suggest that lower education and greater anomie are related to the development of punitive orientations among officers. Although the time span was only seven years, there was some indication that individual qualities officers bring to their total institutions may not necessarily wash out in ways predicted by Crouch and Marquart (1980).

The study did find that overall authoritarianism among these officers increased between 1976 and 1983, this does not necessarily indicate that becoming immersed in the role creates more authoritarianism among all the officers in the sample. The rate of acceleration in authoritarianism was higher for officers with anomic feelings, and lower for those with higher education levels. The higher standard deviation in authoritarian scores in 1983 indicates that the homogenization expected from prolonged contact with other officers and with inmates may not be actually occurring in the way predicted by Duffee (1974). The authors did find that fewer of the variables were significant predictors of authoritarianism in 1983, suggesting that possibly other factors, such as post assignments, not included in the investigation, have become important or that some degree of increase in authoritarianism is reflective of larger societal trends. The findings certainly do not support earlier work which suggests that officers become "softer" in their attitudes toward inmates, Toch and Klofas, (1982).

Table 2.
Unit Changes in AUTHORITARIANISM per Unit Change in Selected Predictors of Authoritarianism, 1976 and 1983.



The results provide some indirect support for work that has indicated a relationship between role stress and authoritarianism, Poole and Regoli, (1980); Hepburn and Albonetti, (1980). As society experiences a shift in attitudes toward rehabilitation policy, officers are caught in the middle, and become trapped by conflicting expectations about their roles.

A central question must be why structural factors were so insignificant as predictors. One possible explanation is that our model did not include relevant structural variables. Additional research is also needed that approaches role stress as a structural dimension and greater attention needs to be given to the effects of inmate contact hours on the attitudes and behavior of officers. Additional attention needs to be given to research that extends longitudinal analysis beyond the period of this study and includes the extent of change itself as an independent variable in predicting attitudes and behavior. The work shift assigned officers may also have an impact on their behaviors.

Another possible explanation for the insignificant effects of structural predictors is that, despite uniform structural constraints upon correction officers, there is enough role variance to permit a degree of autonomy and individual volition in interactions of officers with inmates, other officers, and administrators. In this respect, the research supports a growing body of revisionist conceptions of the correction officer, including those of Toch (1978) and Lombardo (1981; 1982) who acknowledge the resiliency of individuals in resisting socialization to stereotypical "screw" qualities, even in the worst of environments.

Finally, this research suggests a few policy directions for administrators and trainers of correction officers. Individual characteristics, as least for this seven year study, do not wash out as predictors of authoritarian attitudes in ways many have thought they would. They appear to have an enduring effect on authoritarianism attitudes. Education and anomie are particularly important as predictors of these attitudes, and they may be qualities that recruiters of the officer force will want to weigh carefully in their selection process. **Since education is associated with lower authoritarianism among correctional officers, recruiters may want to carefully screen candidates for officer positions according to their educational levels.** Training that is partially oriented toward offsetting the negative effects of lower education and toward clarifying the role of correctional officers, thereby reducing anomie or feelings of confusion, may increase the effectiveness of training in reducing authoritarianism. The results also suggest that education and lower anomie help insulate officers from increasing authoritarianism over time. This suggests that training refresher courses or updates may help reduce increases in authoritarianism among those officers with less education, and help reaffirm the conditions which fight feelings of frustration and confusion. Finding that anomie appears to increase authoritarian reactions on the part of officers, promoting training and exercises which reduce a sense of confusion and frustration on the part of officers, may very well affect such authoritarianism. The fact that higher professionalism is related to a lower sense of anomie would suggest that increasing professionalism, as measured here, would decrease the chances of officers becoming anomic. This means that encouragement to individuals by trainers to remain professional by keeping up on important journals and attending relevant meetings may help officers understand their demanding roles better and provide them with the tools needed to carry out those duties more effectively. This suggestion is made to apply not only to new officers but to individuals who have been in their occupations for a number of years.

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Developing A University Based Training Center

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Abstract

Interagency collaboration to provide correctional and human services training is an approach which merits consideration. The efforts of a state social service agency and state university to develop a training center are examined. The gains and limitations of interagency cooperation are explored both through a review of current literature and a case study. The authors offer a consumer guide to establishing an interagency training agreement between colleges and universities.

A Review of Interagency Collaboration

Modern human services workers spend a great deal of time talking about and engaging in professional networking activities. During the last decade, dwindling funding and subsequent cutbacks in services have called for new and creative responses from correctional trainers striving to maintain and improve existing programs. The exchange of information and skills among allied professionals has been one proposed response to these problems. A search of the professional literature reveals surprisingly little information concerning methods for developing the actual, day-to-day collaborative skills which make for effective interagency relations.

A review of recent publications on the general topics of interagency cooperation, professional collaboration and inter-organizational relations was conducted. Remarkably few documents surfaced, and the small number that did, dealt only peripherally with these topics. Relatively few authors have examined the specific topic of establishing a working professional collaboration between agencies. One notable exception is the work done by the Regional Resource Center Task Force on Interagency Collaboration which is reviewed in *Evaluating Interagency Collaborations* McLaughlin & Covert, (1984). A clear model for the step-by-step process of interagency planning is presented starting with needs assessment and identification of target service recipients, and progressing through the successive stages of establishing agreements, following-through assurances for collaboration in service delivery, and culminating in evaluation functions. McLaughlin and Covert offer their own work in identifying key benefits and concerns inherent in any interagency collaboration, and pose some mechanisms for minimizing problems in some expected areas of conflict, such as ambiguous jurisdictions, divergent goals or communication barriers between agencies.

Even fewer sources look at the topic of interagency involvements designed to accomplish in-service or training objectives for professional staff. Only one relevant resource was uncovered describing a teacher training project, titled *The Interaction Partner System: A Design for Professional Collaboration* Symanski & Eade, (1981). Symanski and Eade relate the experience of participants in a research project to explore methods for promoting peer teaching and support among school teachers as a model for colleges of education or other teacher education centers.

The literature on interagency cooperation and professional collaboration is limited at best. The need exists for increased attention to the challenging topic of how human services workers can maximize their impact in service delivery through more effective professional collaboration skills.

Transition: A Perspective on Change

It has been suggested by various authors, Lasker, Moore & Simpson, (1980); Frankl, (1963) that change in human behavior is likely to occur during periods of transition in an individual's life. The opportunity for growth provided by many correctional/human service programs is made possible in part by the changes experienced in the lives of the clients. It should come as no surprise that governmental/higher educational agencies are also provided an opportunity to change in transitional periods.

The development of a university based training center in Kentucky is in large part a story about transition. During the late 1970's and early 1980's state governments throughout the nation experienced significant reductions in fundings. One of the areas targeted to absorb this reduction in support was staff training, which in some agencies was virtually eliminated. During that same period and continuing into the present, many colleges and universities have also been affected adversely by both reductions in state and federal support, as well as declining enrollment brought on by the end of the often cited baby boom.

The transitional Kentucky Department for Social Services* (DSS) and Eastern Kentucky University** (EKU) began in 1983 with a cooperative training effort which has evolved into a multi-faceted training center. The cooperative arrangement began with a limited number of training sessions developed by EKU Department of Correctional Services faculty for delivery in various DSS residential facilities for adjudicated delinquents. These intial cooperative activities have expanded into a Training Resource Center (TRC) which helps to provide over one hundred training events annually for nearly 5,000 participants. TRC contracted services include the provision of a centralized training site (EKU's Carl D. Perkins Conference Center), food service, lodging, audio visual equipment, instructional media development, job task analysis, competency based curriculum development, the

coordination of logistical arrangements for regional training events, granting of Continuing Education Units (CEU's) and maintenance of training records.

These services have been provided through a series of four one-year contracts between DSS and EKU. Because both organizations are agencies of Kentucky state government, contract and cost reimbursement are handled by the accounting staff of each agency and require minimal supervision by trainers from DSS or EKU.

Gains and Limitations

Any positive cooperative efforts between agencies will provide gains for each organization. There are also limitations which are common in the compromises that are associated with cooperative efforts, i.e. "no pain - no gain." Fortunately, gains have significantly exceeded the limitations of the cooperative relationship between EKU and DSS. Table 1 summarizes the major gains for each participant.

Table 1

GAINS EXPERIENCED BY AGENCY AND UNIVERSITY IN THE OPERATION OF A COOPERATIVE TRAINING CENTER

Gains Experienced By State Agency	Gains Experienced by University
Ready access to highly skilled adult education professionals and curriculum developers	Provides university faculty members with regular exposure to practioners.
Academic setting conducive to learning, study and exploration (conference center), natural setting away from work site, and close to educational resources	Provides opportunity for creative use of under-utilized faculty
Improved stature for training and positive effect on staff morale as a result	Provides opportunity for research, field study and publication
Cost-effective services which provide financial accountability and a streamlined contracting system	Allows for the development of cooperative education internship programs and other field based experiences for undergraduate and graduate students
Use of university staff allows for more creative, effective staff deployment (reduces burden on full-time agency trainers)	Increases revenue for both faculty and university
Provides both Continuing Education Units and record keeping, as well as academic credit for training	Faculty development and expansion of areas of experience result from challenges of staff training
Makes available an informed external organization that can provide technical assistance, research and evaluative services	Assists University in meeting its goal of service to the community and commonwealth/state
Consolidation of meeting/conference planning leads to more professional, effective and economical training activities (Hazerjizn, 1985)	

*The Kentucky Department for Social Services is the agency within the Cabinet for Human Resources which has primary responsibility for juvenile correctional services (probation, custodial supervision and aftercare), as well as child and adult protective services, foster care and adoption. The DSS has two major program components, Residential and Field Services Divisions. The Department maintains a staff of over 1500 state employees.

**Eastern Kentucky University is the largest of Kentucky's regional universities with an enrollment of approximately 12,000 full time equivalent students. The Department of Correctional Services is the budgetary unit responsible for directing the Training Resource Center. The Department has eight faculty members and provides graduate and undergraduate course work in adult and juvenile corrections. The Department is within the College of Law Enforcement, one of the nation's largest post secondary criminal justice education programs.

The EKU Law Enforcement Center, which is adjacent to the Carl D. Perkins Conference Center, houses not only the College of Law Enforcement, but also the Kentucky Department of Criminal Justice Training (DCJT). DCJT is the agency of state government with primary responsibility for police/law enforcement inservice training.

One of the most rewarding aspects of the interagency arrangement has been the symbiotic relationship which has developed between the two organizations and their staffs. The collaboration of practioners and academics has led to additional cooperative efforts (i.e.: new training approaches, research projects, submission of grant proposals and conference presentations).

The limitations of the arrangement have related primarily to adjustments in scheduling, work responsibilities and professional orientations. The traditional higher education view of staff development has been centered on graduate and undergraduate course work and degrees Miller & Verduin, (1979). The university and particularly the cooperative academic department have been required to adjust traditional pedagogical approaches to meet the special training needs of the state agency. The resulting conflicts have been minor, however, there remains a diversity of opinion within the university regarding its role as a provider of inservice training.

Joint leadership of any activity, as opposed to single agency decision-making authority, requires constant negotiation/adjustment. Shared curriculum development calls for close interagency communication, supervision and mediation. Both parties must be flexible and develop a creative approach to joint programming while maintaining separate but equal financial and procedural accountability.

The development and supervision of training staff can become confusing and at times stressful when agency and university projects occur simultaneously. The roles and responsibilities of both university and agency personnel must be clearly delineated to avoid confusion. The location of the Training Center outside the state capitol (approximately 50 miles) where the administrative offices of the agency are located creates some logistical problems for trainers.

A continual process of negotiation, adjustment and change are necessary to maintain an effective interagency cooperative training center. Flexibility remains the watchword for both university and agency personnel.

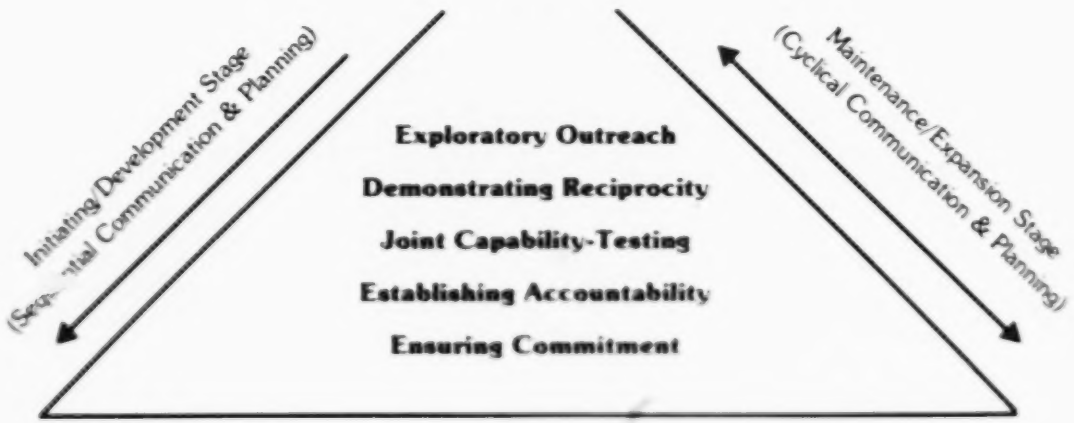
Implementing Interagency Cooperation

Any interagency collaboration involves specific steps which need to be successfully negotiated in order for the interaction to be mutually satisfying to all parties. These steps included particular tasks and outcomes which range from establishing needs to evaluating results. The major steps in the development of the Kentucky Training Resource Center included: exploratory outreach; demonstrating reciprocity; joint capability-testing; establishing accountability and ensuring commitment. Agency and university coordinators recognized a cyclical pattern in the manner in which these steps needed to be renegotiated as the Training Resource Center developed from a pilot program into a major interagency agreement. Diagram 1 illustrates this communication and planning process.

Some form of needs assessment would normally constitute the first step in any interagency collaboration, the developers of the Kentucky Training Resource Center were able to begin communication and planning at a later stage. Numerous agency study groups and task forces evaluating children's residential services in Kentucky had already identified the need for Department for Social Services trainers to develop stronger ties with colleges and universities. As a result, the first step for EKU and DSS staff

INTERAGENCY AGREEMENT: COMMUNICATIONS AND PLANNING PROCESSES

Diagram I



was to meet and review agency training needs. The meeting provided the opportunity to inventory potential program capabilities within both agencies and to explore possible cooperative activities.

After numerous exploratory meetings, project coordinators from each agency focused attention on mobilizing their own organization's internal resources to plan and implement joint programs. This step involved a variety of efforts from checking with superiors for their support, to assessing logistical issues such as interagency billing and payment methods. The outcome of this step was a series of verbal and written communications between agencies to demonstrate clear intentions to work together. The most salient aspect of this step, however, was the need for both agencies to demonstrate reciprocity in following through on earlier exploratory discussions with substantive action.

The next step involved designing and testing a series of pilot training events and other cooperative interagency activities such as joint attendance at professional conferences and identification of consultants and specialists. After the joint capability-testing activities, project coordinators were able to gain a more realistic idea of each agency's strengths and limitations and adjust expectations of each other accordingly, thus achieving more satisfying and productive communication and planning.

The final steps involved establishing measures to ensure continuity of earlier, experimental efforts which had been determined to be successful and desirable to repeat. Both agencies needed to establish accountability and ensure commitment to each other through negotiating a formal interagency contract, deploying staff to implement all aspects of the contracted plans, and monitoring conformance to the contract parameters. At this juncture staff of both agencies began to find themselves returning to earlier steps, exploring new possibilities, renewing reciprocity with each new planning effort, and testing each agency's capabilities as the scope of the Training Resource Center expanded.

The Kentucky Training Resource Center might be proof of the axiom that no relationship, whether personal or professional, is static. Rather every relationship, even an inter-organizational relationship, changes and grows in observable, measurable stages. Through examining the stages of growth involved in a successful interagency collaboration, professionals from various disciplines may find new strategies for maximizing their efforts.

Conclusion

For any interagency collaboration to succeed, certain conditions must first exist within the organizations proposing to work together. A prerequisite to collaboration is the presence of a supportive administrative hierarchy. In the case of the evolution of the Training Resource Center, an important success factor was the presence of upper level management staff in both the Department for Social Services and Eastern Kentucky University who endorsed this creative approach to training. The two organizations provided the kind of open managerial climate and administrative flexibility necessary in order to launch a major interagency planning effort. Specifically, both agencies possessed leadership which encouraged and supported creative problem-solving by mid-level management. Agency heads in both organizations further provided staff sufficient autonomy and responsibility for the disbursement of discretionary funds to allow mid-level managers ample opportunities to explore and test new program concepts and structures.

In addition, the two agencies became involved programmatically with one another at the time when conditions in each organization were exceptionally conducive to new development. The Department for Social Services had just undergone a major reorganization which included establishing a new training office and allocating substantial new funding for contractual training agreements. Similarly, the College of Law Enforcement at Eastern Kentucky University had recently terminated a major training relationship with another Kentucky agency and were faced with declining student enrollment. Nevertheless, project coordinators at both agencies experienced some anxiety-producing challenges in the experimental stages of their contract-planning. As the respective organizations geared-up for joint program administration, new inter-accounting procedures, staff assignments and other mechanisms necessary to support a major training contract had to be developed. A formal negotiated contract has become the basis for operation of the Training Resource Center.

Based on their experiences, the authors offer the following guide as a planning tool for other professionals who propose to initiate any major interagency collaboration effort with colleges or universities. Given some of the basic prerequisites discussed in this article and the following consumer guide, an agency trainer should be able to assess the potential for successful collaborative activities with a higher education institution.

The guide allows trainers or other professionals considering developing an interagency agreement with a college or university to review at a glance some of the major factors which might impact successful collaboration. These factors are listed in the lefthand column of the guide, and include such items as availability of continuing education units, the possibility of interaccounting and existence of conference planning services. A rating indicating the relative importance of each factor is given in the middle column. Three asterisks suggest that the factor listed is mandatory; two, that is essential; and one, that it is important. The comments in the righthand column make suggestions as to the significance of each factor. In addition, factors are prioritized in the guide from those which the authors consider mandatory to those which the authors consider important but not indispensable. Thus, the reader may focus on any one item and immediately obtain some sense of its comparative value, as well as ideas concerning its implementation. For example, the authors rate the availability of CEU's as essential because of the formal

stature they confer on non-academic educational activities such as staff training or professional workshops. Conversely, the authors consider the presence of radio and television production facilities as important to the development of training audiovisual aids but not absolutely essential in comparison to other factors.

Consumer Guide to Establishing An Interagency Training Agreement with Colleges and Universities

Ratings: Listed below are crucial factors to consider in the selection of a college/university to provide correctional training.

***Mandatory **Essential *Important

Factors (College/University Characteristics)	Rating	Comments
Existence of a Continuing Education Program	* * *	Reflects significant institutional commitment to adult education
A cooperating academic department	* * *	Institutions of Higher Education are based on academic departments - often need this level of support for CEU activity
Availability of CEU's	* *	Formal recognition of educational experience
Computerized Continuing Education Record/Transcript System	* *	Provides a readily accessible backup or primary training record system
Audio/Visual Equipment	* *	May reduce cost and hassle associated with A/V arrangement
Flexible Contracting/Project Administration	* *	Can provide for maximum use of training dollars, extend funds beyond normal fiscal year. Contract can guarantee use of funds for training activities
Reduced Indirect Cost Rate for Training Activities	* *	Traditional research based rates of approximately 50 percent of wages and salaries may prove prohibitive for training purposes
Identified as a Higher Education Liaison Individual	* *	Provides contract agency with a single point of contact with college or university
Option of academic credit for training programs	*	Provides additional incentive for many trainers
Availability of Continuing Education Center	*	Can provide the optimum location for training
Possibility of interagency accounting Mechanism	*	Greatly reduces staff time and effort devoted to paperwork and contracts
Availability of conference planning Services	*	Can be of great assistance in making hotel and dining arrangements
Media and Classroom support services	*	Can enhance classroom presentation, i.e., posters, slides, transparencies, art work.
Radio and Television Production Facilities	*	Production of training related audio and visual aids.
Free Visitor Parking	*	Limited parking is a common problem associated with university based training
Low Cost Housing	*	Available either on or off campus
Applied Research Capabilities	*	Can aid in needs assessment, job task analysis and followup

The consumer should look for an ideal college/university training arrangement. However, some of the previously listed factors may only be achievable over time. Consumers are encouraged to establish cost-reimbursement, performance based contracts, but caution should be taken to allow for ample program flexibility which is a reoccurring need in training.

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EASTERN
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Corrections: A Move to Privatization

James L. Jengeleski

Abstract

The recent move to private corrections has become an increasingly complex and controversial issue. This article focuses on a number of issues concerning the move to privatization of corrections: resources, improved prison conditions, management and contractual agreements, public policy, accountability, legal authority, public attitudes, political philosophies and ideologies, financial issues, as well as planning, implementation and evaluation efforts. This article offers insight into potential problems and benefits associated with private correctional endeavors. A number of state and national research reports were reviewed on "privatization" as its occurrence increases throughout America.

Introduction

The American System of Corrections confronted with overcrowding, mandatory sentencing and escalating construction costs of building new prisons and jails are among several factors prompting policymakers and private vendors to experiment with alternative correctional practices. It appears that the private sector and its proponents are increasingly moving to grasp a bigger piece of the pie in expanding institutional services, programs, industries, construction and management of correctional facilities.

Many controversial issues surround this movement such as: societal goals, quality of conditions, financial resources, security, facility management, liability issues and legal authority, to name a few, which need to be addressed carefully by policymakers and practitioners throughout the United States before involving the private sector.

The central issues surrounding the move to private corrections appear to be threefold:

(1) to what extent are states planning to contract with private vendors?

(2) To what extent are states considering private financing for prisons?

(3) To what extent will the private sector manage and operate prisons and jails?

Several observations may be made revealing a swing to the private sector financially supporting corrections in America. As noted in a National Institute of Justice report entitled, "The Privatization of Corrections," 1985:

> "The national elections of 1978 and 1980 and the changes in public attitudes they revealed hold a dear message for the future: the pendulum is swinging toward a greater role for the private sector in American life. The American people have raised fundamental questions about the relations between the public and private sectors, and their changing views will inevitably be reflected in public policy."

Over the past few years both the state and federal government have cut expenses dramatically on staffing and program developments forcing the system to look toward creative correctional alternatives. One such solution and approach is involving the private sector in developing, implementing and operating correctional institutions. New opportunities and ventures do not come without debate. This article will detail the issues and practices relevant to the move to private corrections which include: trends, problems and benefits and recommendations for "privatization," practice and policy.

Trends of Privatization

A private prison for the purpose of this article may be defined as a full-custody primary confinement adult correctional facility which is owned or operated by a non-governmental profit or non-profit organization. Private sector involvement may also be piecemeal in the field of corrections by providing specific services which could include: placement programs, drug and alcohol programs, medical and religious services and construction and financing endeavors.

One of the foremost problems leading to linkages with state owned and operated correctional facilities with the private sector has been severe prison overcrowding on a national basis. According to 1985 United State Department of Justice statistics the federal and state prison population is at an all-time high of over 500,000 inmates. In response to this dilemma, a number of states have begun to combat the problem of overcrowding through double celling, early release, modular housing units as well as construction and addition of new wings to existing institutions. This has created legal concerns evident through the many court orders and injunctions issued to several states for mandatory reduction of the overcrowding problem.

Overcrowded conditions also have detrimental effects on the operation of a correctional facility. As noted in a 1985 report conducted by the Pennsylvania Commission on Crime and Delinquency:

> "The Task Force believes that government must provide prison staff with a safe and manageable working environment. Prison overcrowding conflicts with that responsibility. Correctional overcrowding strains the Commonwealth's ability to provide basic and humane custodial services; it increases the risk of a major crisis; and it diminishes our capacity to respond to a crisis if it occurs. These strains promote violence which directly endanger staff and inmates, decreases

staff morale, and increases institutional management problems."

The potential for private corrections to intervene under these conditions has been noted in at least eleven states most under court injunctions to reduce overcrowding.

Another area of concern deals with the participation of private industry in prison work programs. Chief Justice Warren Burger has relayed the following message:

"Will we continue building warehouses for convicted criminals or will we build prisons that are factories with fences . . . Do we want prisoners to return to society as predators or producers?"

This area has been reviewed extensively by the National Institute for Justice report (1985) which reveals that the most logical place to find private sector involvement is in prison industry and work programs. The report emphasizes that prison industries continue to labor under a variety of legal and administrative barriers that inhibit the widespread participation of the private sector. It also claims that the private sector may hold the greatest promise by changing current confinement practices. Finally, the report points out that this is still a relatively virgin area in which the private sector has not totally become involved with facility management and administration.

Escalating prison and jail construction costs are another area where the private sector has entered. New financing alternatives and options are currently being reviewed by many states in order to aid in continual prison construction. Mullen (1985) discussed this issue and pointed to contracts in the form of lease/purchase agreements which could be used to obtain a facility over time as an installment sale. These contracts have been supported in part through a number of investment and brokerage houses and the lease/purchase arrangements by companies such as Merrill Lynch and E. F. Hutton.

It is envisioned that some of the financial lease/purchase arrangement problems would have: no effect on a government's capacity to assume additional debt; treat the governmental leasee as a rental by not permitting the accumulation of equity in the property; or encourage governments to use the right of nonappropriation to escape inconvenient or unsatisfactory facilities. As noted, there are many uncertainties on leasing alternatives and unexpected problems of these new options, however, many states are giving serious attention to this alternative.

One example was the Corrections Corporation of America's (CCA) bid to pay Tennessee $250 million for the right to operate the state's entire prison system for the next ninety-nine years. Under the proposal, CCA would pay Tennessee $100 million in cash, half of it immediately, and would make $150 million dollars worth of improvements in the state system. Finally, it was proposed that when the company took over management of the facility, the state would pay the company an agreed-upon fee based on the number of inmates. CCA contended that the company could provide better correctional services at lower cost because private enterprise is not bound by government bureaucracy and inefficiencies.

It was also envisioned by CCA that other benefits would include reduced pressure from the courts for reform and upgrading, the potential for diverting tax revenues to other citizen needs, faster construction timetables, and the opportunity to provide a concerned public with a safe, secure and humane corrections or detention facility.

In a report entitled, "A Study of Issues Related to the Potential Operation of Private Prisons in Pennsylvania," October, (1985) several benefits and problems have been identified which are associated with usage of private prison facilities and programs for adults. The following represents the major findings of the National Institute of Justice and the Pennsylvania Legislative Budget and Finance Committee, as well as local, state and national debate on the controversial aspects of privatization.

Problems Associated with Privatization

Absence of Laws, Regulations and Government Liability

Perhaps the most crucial area of concern was the limited guidelines, laws or regulations to monitor the private sector in operating private prisons. Several areas of concern ranging from liability, accountability, security, facility management and treatment issues need to be regulated and monitored in operating a private prison.

One recent case illustrates this issue quite well. The *Medina v. O'Neill*, (1984), involved an illegal immigrant detention center in Houston operated by a private company for the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. Sixteen aliens were detained overnight in a windowless cell designed for no more than six people. The court found that the facility was not geared to hold sixteen people. The guards were untrained in the use of firearms having shot and killed one detainee and seriously injured another. The court's main conclusion was that the aliens were deprived of their due process rights when the INS ordered their detention "but failed to assure they were detained in a facility in compliance with due process dictates." This is one example of liability where the negligence of correctional officials contributed to the injuries suffered.

In order to address these issues, a combination of legislative actions should be developed. Pennsylvania Commissioner of Corrections, Glen R. Jeffes, 1986, recommended that first, the state and its employees should be offered statutory immunity from suit for any action filed by, or on behalf of, any inmate confined in a private prison. Second, the private prison should be required to save and hold harmless the state, county and local governments and their employees for all claims which result from the acts or omission of any inmate or employee of a private prison. Third, the private prison should be required to purchase insurance adequate to cover all foreseeable risks, while the

particulars of the insurance requirement should be left to regulations. Overall, it is envisioned that these provisions will provide governmental entities protection from litigation and liability while still assuring that any persons injured by this enterprise will be adequately compensated for their losses.

In retrospect, a 1985 National Institute of Justice report delivered the following message: ". . . there is, however, no legal principle to support the premise that public agencies will be able to avoid or diminish their liability merely because services have been delegated to a private vendor."

Emergency Situations

A further dilemma facing private prisons is in the area of emergency situations such as prison riots, violence and employee strikes and the deleterious effects they would have on overall safety and security of the institution.

Protection for the community housing the program, as well as prison's staff and inmates is essential. Under present law (Federal Labor Relations Act) private correctional officers would have the right to strike in the event of a collective bargaining impasse.

A strike could create tremendous internal turmoil in which government intervention may be needed to protect the community, prisoners, staff and property. Other situations could also take place which include riots, escapees, and other forms of violence. An absence of specific legal provisions for an emergency government takeover of a private prison facility remains unclear and untested. Proposed legislation would be needed to address the occurrence of emergencies in a prison setting. Law enforcement and other government authorities need to develop policies in case of an escapee, riot or other form of violence occur.

Possible Misuse of the Profit Motive

Traditionally, the government has been responsible for protecting the public through law and order efforts as well as operating various correctional systems. It is envisioned that private enterprises may place the profit motive ahead of providing responsible public service. It is noted by the Pennsylvania Legislative Budget and Finance Report (1985) that . . . "it is possible that an unscrupulous private operator could take steps to maintain a full prison population, even when such may not be in the public interest. For example, it is possible that prisoner records could be manipulated so as to interfere with a prisoner's opportunity for a community-release experience or for parole."

Commissioner Jeffes, 1986, recommended that private correctional facilities should also be required to meet reasonable tests of adequate financial backing and performance bonding to ensure their ability to function on a stable basis once incarceration operations are assured

Sentencing Guidelines and Application

Specific guidelines for sentencing adult offenders to private facilities are unclear or non-existent. It is envisioned that there may be potential for inappropriate commitments and violations of due process rights. There is even greater potential for discrimination and misuse of sentence application and length as well as the lack of clarity as to what type of prisoners would be committed to a private facility.

Therefore, it is recommended that through legislative action this issue be addressed so that discriminatory sentencing practices do not occur and due process requirements are adhered to.

Benefits Associated with Privatization

Cost Effectiveness

Compared to the existing system, there are several reasons why private vendors can perform more efficiently in running prisons. For instance, unlike the state and federal government, private firms are able to avoid the "red tape" that causes countless delays which ultimately increases construction costs. Private contractors are accountable to their investors and, therefore, are motivated to operate efficiently maintained completion deadlines.

Another benefit is that the company's accountability is not limited to its investors. The firm must satisfy the terms of a contract with the corrections department or risk losing that contract when it comes up for renewal. Consequently it may be argued that private companies have an incentive to provide and operate a secure, humane facility where prisoners are actually rehabilitated. Such is not the case in the public sector where prisons stay in business regardless of their inadequacies, ineffectiveness and failure.

The argument concerning privatization is that it is more efficient because companies must compete against one another to retain their contracts. Thus they are continually obliged to improve their performance with regard to the quality of services provided.

Ease Overcrowding

Our nation's prisons are bursting at the seams according to recent reports by the United States Department of Justice. Most notable are the uprisings in our prisons concerning inhumane and unsanitary conditions. A recent uprising occurred at the decrepit West Virginia Penitentiary where hostages were seized and three prisoners were murdered during a 43-hour disturbance. Another recent example was when U.S. District Court Judge Thomas A. Higgins ruled in Tennessee that only prisoners certified by the corrections commissioner as "severe security risks," such as psychopaths and those sentenced to death, will be admitted to the states' lockups. The list goes on with additional state correctional systems being placed under court injunction to relieve the horrendous overcrowding problem.

Private prisons could offer alternatives to ease this national problem through various alternative options which may include institutions for special needs offenders or institutions targeted at housing a select category of offenders. More specifically, private prisons may be able to offer a service on the local level to those counties holding

"Driving under the Influence" cases and other short term summary offenders. Privatization, if carefully monitored and governed, has the potential of providing additional space and flexibility to help ease the current overcrowding situation.

Summary and Conclusions

One of the most interesting conclusions to be drawn from investigating the area of privatization was the limited information available on this subject. Most was anecdotal especially in the areas of management and policy direction. Only until a few years ago did significant data collection take place concerning this area. As mentioned earlier this issue has many problem areas which need to be researched and discussed more thoroughly. Terrell and Kramer (1984) succinctly identified several areas of concern:

> "On both left and right, the discussion regarding the use of nongovernmental organizations remains largely ideological and subjective . . . There are still many unanswered questions regarding the different components of the contracting process: Should bidding in the human services be competitive? Should low bidders always be accepted? Should nonprofit providers be preferred over profit-making organizations? How can government avoid driving out smaller agencies that may be unable to compete in the bidding process? How can fair costs be determined? Is there a role for citizens in the contract management process? And, finally, what difference does all of this make for clients?"

Further experimentation and understanding are needed so we can clearly understand the limits and practical implications that involve the private sector.

Pennsylvania Commissioner Jeffes (1986) summarizes by stating. ". . . The issues of deadly force escapes, contraband, major emergencies, police intervention, transportation of inmates, job actions, staff training, employment qualifications, medical and health care and the question of liability must be reviewed, discussed and a decision made as to the facility's liability in the event of a catastrophe."

A 1985 National Institute Justice report cautioned that privately managed facilities need to assess their goals concerning the avoidance of permanent facility expansion but still accomodate population shifts, testing new practices without making permanent commitments or laboring under bureaucratic constraints, to acquire geographic and programmatic diversity than is typically possible under a centralized agency, satisfying specialized treatment needs and to develop interjurisdictional facilities.

Mullen, (1985) a former corrections official, has asked, "Are they just going to run an outmoded system more efficiently, or are they going to bring some real improvements and new ideas?"

One has to conclude that until experimentation and testing of each promising alternative continues, we may have a chance to put a breath of fresh air in the existing system through utilization of the private sector services which may benefit not only the existing systems, but enhance alternative practices.

If this can be achieved, perhaps a combination of both private and public corrections will have its place that utilizes both sectors to their best advantage which may force the American correctional system to re-assess and align itself with this challenging alternative.

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Eastern Kentucky University

Eastern Kentucky University is a regional coeducational public institution of higher education offering general and liberal arts programs, pre-professional and professional training in education and various other fields at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Located in Richmond, Kentucky Eastern has a distinguished record of more than seven decades of educational service to the Commonwealth.

Eastern was established in 1906. The campus of old Central University, founded in 1974, was selected the site of the new school.

In 1922, Eastern became a four-year institution known as Eastern Kentucky State Normal School and Teachers College.

In 1935, a graduate program was approved at Eastern, leading to the Master of Arts in Education. In 1948, the General Assembly removed the word "Teachers" from the name of the College and granted the College the right to award non-professional degrees.

The most significant day since its founding came for Eastern February 26, 1966, when Governor Edward T. Breathitt signed into law a bill renaming the institution Eastern Kentucky University and sanctioning the awarding of graduate degrees in academic fields other than education.

Ever-mindful of the purpose of its founding, Eastern continues to recognize its historic function of preparing quality teachers for the elementary and secondary schools of the Commonwealth. However, a strong liberal arts curriculum leading to appropriate degrees, together with pre-professional courses in several areas and graduate programs, enable Eastern to uniquely serve the Commonwealth as a regional university.

Plan To Attend

Third Annual National Correctional Trainers Conference

October 7-9, 1987

Co-Sponsored by
American Association of Correctional Training Personnel
and
Juvenile Justice Trainers Association

Sheraton South Hills
U.S. 19 at Fort Couch Road
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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